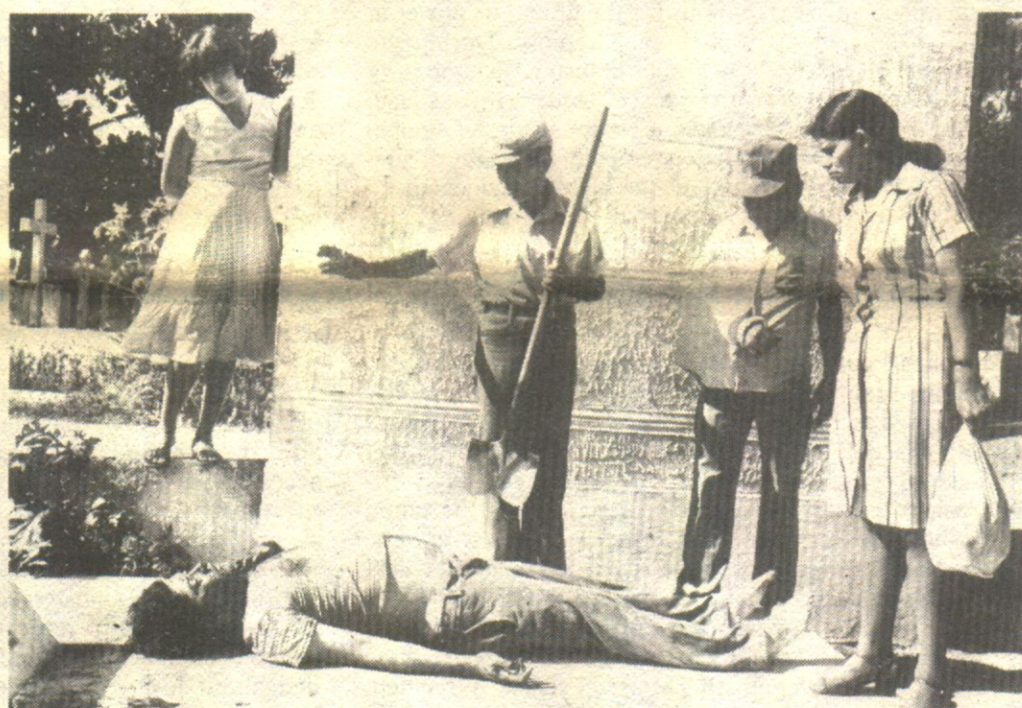




Not too loud, you'll wake the dead

Human rights nominee Ernest Lefever favors
"quiet diplomacy" in response to government terror



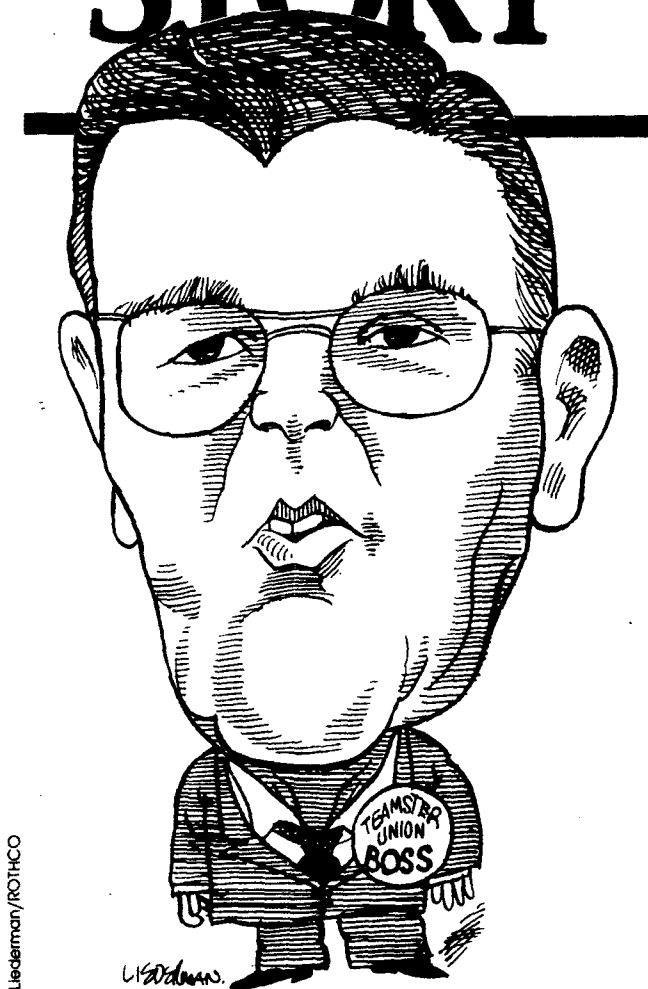
A victim of
right-wing death
squads in
El Salvador

Photo by Chris Brown/Picture Group

Page 4

The IRA's American Connection

THE INSIDE STORY



Indicted three times, new Teamster head Roy Williams has managed to stay out of jail.

Is Williams Hoffa without the record?

By David Moberg

The Teamsters, not so long ago, were a fast-growing union at least as noted for delivering fat contracts to its core of truck-driving members as for its repeated scandals. But times have grown much tougher for them, and there is little reason to expect that the new president, Roy Williams, will lead them out of the wilderness.

Williams was named interim president by the union's executive board at a 20-minute meeting in the Jockey Club, a Las Vegas hotel, on May 15. Technically he is simply filling out the term of Frank Fitzsimmons, who had run the union from the time of Jimmy Hoffa's imprisonment in 1967 until his death on May 6. But despite announced opposition from Pete Camarata, a leader in Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Williams' election at the June 1 convention in Las Vegas will be the safest bet in town.

Although there were reports of jockeying for position among top Teamster officials as Fitzsimmons lay on his deathbed, Williams, whose base is in Kansas City, Mo., won out over such other potential candidates as 75-year-old secretary-treasurer Ray Schoessling, who would have been a caretaker president, and Jackie Presser of Cleveland. Presser led the endorsements for Williams, possibly in exchange for one of Williams' old jobs, director of the powerful Central Conference of Teamsters.

Despite many unsavory associations, Fitzsimmons had at least stayed out of jail, unlike Dave Beck and Hoffa before him. Williams may have more work to match his immediate predecessor's record. The Justice Department is currently investigating Williams in connection with an alleged attempt to buy votes against trucking deregulation. Two other grand juries are said to be investigating Williams' possible connections with organized crime. The Senate permanent subcommittee on investigations recently concluded that Williams was "an organized crime mole" working in the Teamsters on behalf of Nick Civella, a reputed organized crime leader in Kansas City.

But even though Williams has never been convicted of any wrongdoings, a recent report by Teamsters for a Democratic Union, entitled "Roy Williams' Bid for the Marble Palace" (the name given the Teamsters

huge Washington headquarters), suggests an unsavory history that could explode during his tenure and create greater instability for the union.

In 1962 Williams escaped conviction for participation in a scheme to embezzle more than \$200,000 in union funds from Kansas City Local 41, where he had been president since 1954, while his co-defendants were found guilty. (One co-defendant who turned state's evidence was later shotgunned to death. Other Teamster opponents of Williams in Kansas City over the years have been beaten, shot or, in one case, found dead from a slashed throat.) In the same year, Williams kept on his payroll a business agent jailed for accepting payoffs in exchange for negotiating a substandard contract, then later raised his salary and promoted him.

Williams was indicted two other times. In 1972 he was acquitted on charges of embezzlement, and in 1974 an indictment for making false entries on a government reporting form was dismissed. Now the finances of Joint Council 56 and Local 41, both of which Williams headed, are again under investigation, as is the suspicious murder in January 1979 of James R. Harkins, an accountant for Joint Council 56 who was working for Williams.

Summarizing evidence already made public in the ongoing federal investigation of organized crime and the Teamsters, the TDU report indicates that the Kansas City Teamsters, including Roy Williams, may be linked to mob figures in Kansas City, Chicago and Las Vegas casino operations before reporting earnings to the Internal Revenue Service. The principal link between the Teamsters and organized crime, this evidence suggests, is Sam Ancona, a general organizer for the international union and Williams' Joint Council 56 organizer.

Williams was also one of the trustees of the \$2 billion Central States Pension Fund and was forced to step down in 1977 after Department of Labor revelations of questionable loans made by the fund—many of them for hotel, casino and real estate ventures by people linked to the Mafia. Williams and other teamster officials who resigned were, however, in control of the committee that picked their replacements.

Gangsters aside...

Ominous though all these associations may be, one other problem clearly looms for the union: its power in the trucking industry is slipping rapidly. During the post-war decades, the trucking industry was booming and Teamster power grew apace. Under Hoffa's leadership, the union developed a National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA) that attempted to establish uniform conditions throughout the highly fragmented industry. That centralized power in bargaining also strengthened Hoffa's hand in the union vis-a-vis the many strongly autonomous regional and local officials, a power Fitzsimmons later relinquished to some extent.

But union control over trucking began to slip about the same time that the Master Freight Agreement was finally established in 1964. Prohibitions on secondary pressures and boycotts of "hot cargo" under the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act and the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act were more strictly enforced, making it increasingly difficult to extend the union jurisdiction. As the union pushed up the wages and benefits of truck drivers, companies sought more ways to evade unionized trucking. Nonunion companies expanded their jurisdiction, more nonunion owner-operators were employed, and nonunion corporations started their own trucking operations. Although the Master Freight Agreement had always included special provisions for certain bulk commodities, increasingly the union responded to the

nonunion competition by putting more "general commodity" freight under the special "riders" that undercut the master agreement. Also, many under-the-table agreements were negotiated locally or with various small companies.

These conditions have been greatly exacerbated by the combined effects of higher fuel prices, lingering recession and the advent of deregulation of trucking last summer. In September the union rejected a request for reopening negotiations on the Master Freight Agreement to delay or reduce cost-of-living adjustments, reduce some wage scales and change work rules to eliminate jobs. But local and regional officials were indirectly given the green light to make adjustments.

In April, when another cost-of-living increase was due (an average of 77 cents an hour and \$8 a week in benefit coverage to bring the top wages to just under \$13 an hour), many trucking firms said that they weren't going to pay. In some cases, companies have approached workers individually to get them to sign waivers of their contract rights or to negotiate "contributions" of part of their pay back to the company to preserve their jobs.

"I think there's going to be more and more breaking out of the master agreement," TDU organizer Ken Paff predicts. He also argues that the union is surrendering in trucking, hoping to make up lost ground in manufacturing. (Though the Teamsters have a vigorous organizing campaign, they have an extremely low rate of victory and have essentially remained stable at around 1.9 million members in recent years, down from a peak of 2.1 million.)

Since Williams has been chair of the union's freight division (as well as vice-president, international representative, director and secretary of the central conference and president of the Missouri-Kansas conference, all appointive positions bringing in a total of \$178,000 in salary in 1979 plus unlimited expenses), there is little reason to expect him to reverse the direction.

"There is some feeling that Williams will be more of a Hoffa," Paff said. "But being Hoffa is not a matter of force of will. It would be harder for Williams to be a centralizer. He'd be going against the tide. I don't suspect that he will change much of anything."

TDU has circulated a plan, "New Directions for the '80s," that addresses many of the problems. It will try to introduce 11 constitutional amendments and two general resolutions at the June convention aimed at democratizing the union and halting the erosion of the union. For example, they will ask that only members directly affected vote on special supplemental agreements, that a simple majority rather than two-thirds be required to reject a contract, that strike benefits be increased and ceilings set on officers' salaries, that officers be elected by referendum and that delegates be elected to conventions held every three years. (Now only about 10 percent of the 2,100 delegates are directly elected and conventions are once every five years.)

TDU delegates will also introduce resolutions calling for preservation of the master contracts and limitations on extensions of special riders. Though they expect to win nothing at a convention dominated by elected officials, they think that a few of their proposals may spark lively debate.

Eventually the undemocratic and often corrupt official shell of the Teamsters may be cracked, not simply through democratic reformism itself but at least as much through actions of a desperate membership worried about losing the wages and benefits that have always been a rationalization for accepting the sordid practices of the union's leaders. ■

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The discomfort of being Ernest

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

HE LOOKS AND ACTS LIKE one of Thomas Hardy's village parsons: gaunt, humorless, tinged with corruption, pious, but in the service of worldly ends.

In 1974, upon returning from a visit to Augusto Pinochet's Chile, he described the murder, imprisonment and exile of over 100,000 Chileans as a "police action" and a "residual practice of the Iberian tradition."

In 1976 he wrote of Ian Smith's Rhodesia that "the ballot box provides no way for the views of traditional and tribal people to translate into national policy."

At a 1978 government-funded symposium in South Africa, he argued that "South Africa should be a close ally of the United States."

In 1979 House hearings, he called for removing "from the statute books all clauses that establish a human rights standard or condition that must be met by another [friendly] country."

Last February Ronald Reagan nominated Ernest Lefever, 62, to be the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. In the words of one opposition group, it was like "choosing the fox to guard the chicken coop."

On May 18 and 19, before standing-room only crowds, Lefever's nomination came up before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lefever's ragged performance, along with the revelations that emerged about his past dealings, may have doomed his confirmation.

Former Democrat.

Like Jeane Kirkpatrick and Michael Novak, Lefever used to be a liberal Democrat. A disciple of the post-socialist Reinhold Niebhuur, he received a divinity degree from Yale. He worked for Hubert Humphrey, the National Council of Churches and the Brookings Institution.

Like some of his fellow Democrats, his turn rightward began in the '60s under the impact of the Vietnam war and the civil rights movement. By 1970, he was attacking Martin Luther King for having given "aid and comfort" to North Vietnam and Moscow.

In 1976 Lefever established his own little think tank, the Ethics and Public Policy Center, which reprinted articles and held conferences. Through his writings, Lefever became the main right-wing opposition of Jimmy Carter's human rights policies.

In a 1978 essay in *Policy Review*, "The Trivialization of Human Rights," Lefever explained that all other considerations had to be subordinated to the struggle against the Soviet Union and its allies. "The human rights activists," Lefever wrote, "neglect or trivialize the fundamental political and moral struggle of our time—the protracted conflict between forces of total government based on coercion and the proponents of limited government based on popular consent and human law."

To determine American policy toward Thailand, Iran or South Korea, the U.S. should look at their policy toward our "adversaries." "U.S. foreign policy toward another state should be determined largely by the foreign policy of that state," Lefever wrote. "Domestic factors and forces are significant only if they bear on external realities."

To provide some moral basis for his *realpolitik*, Lefever distinguished between "totalitarian" states like Cuba and merely "authoritarian" states like Chile, which, according to Lefever, "permit a significantly greater degree of freedom and diversity than the totalitarian ones" and can "evolve into democratic

rule." (Blissfully ignorant of Amnesty International's 1978 finding that 1,000 political prisoners were still held in Chile, Lefever conceded that there might still be a "handful" of prisoners there.)

Quiet diplomacy.

Sen. Charles Percy (R-IL), the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, has given the Reagan administration far less trouble than his ultra-right vice-chair Jesse Helms (R-NC), but at Lefever's hearing, Percy indicated that he might finally demonstrate his independence.

Lefever, in his opening remarks, barely mentioned human rights. He emphasized that what abuses existed among our authoritarian allies should be dealt with by "quiet diplomacy" rather than "public scolding or threats." When Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) asked him what he would do if quiet diplomacy failed, he invoked Niebhuur. "There are times we must realize we are not God," he said. "There are times we must realize our own finitude."

Lefever also resisted the pressures from Tsongas, Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) and Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.) to take a stand on particular authoritarian allies. Percy grew increasingly exasperated with Lefever. "I don't think anyone doubts you are opposed to communism," Percy said. "But I think that what concerns us here is that you will be even-handed, that you will spend an equal amount of time in such areas as El Salvador in helping to define government policy. Would you be equally enraged by repression, torture, murder on the right wing in El Salvador as we know you would be on the leftists? Dead is just as dead if you're killed by a totalitarian rightist as by a leftist."

"I don't know what it is in my life or writings that has even suggested that I remotely approve of or condone the violations in authoritarian regimes," Lefever replied.

But the committee had trouble even getting Lefever to criticize a Communist government whose human rights violations he had decried in the past. Having reminded Lefever of his past opposition to Cambodia's Pol Pot, Tsongas asked him whether he supported seating his government at the UN.

"Senator, this is under review. It is a highly complex matter," Lefever replied.

"But should we seat them? I want your personal opinion."

"I don't know enough about that circumstance."

"A million people are annihilated by a genocidal regime, and you have no opinion?"

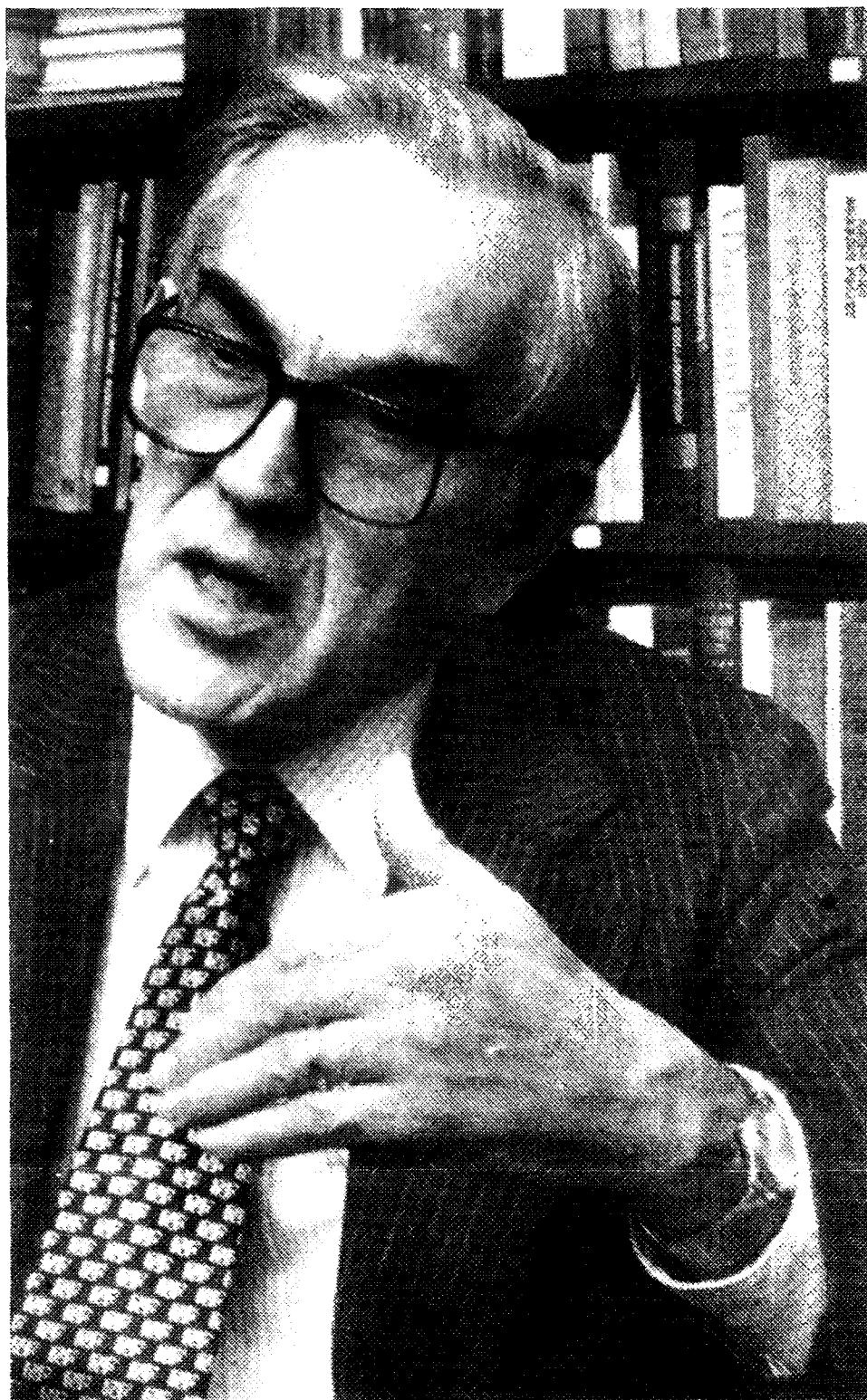
"It is very complex."

Asked what he would do if "quiet diplomacy" failed to deter torturers, Lefever replied, "There are times we must realize we are not God."

But policy differences were not what finally caused Lefever to bolt the hearing room. As the day wore on, Tsongas and Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) kept returning to Lefever's association with the Nestle Corporation.

Nestle has been battling a UN-World Council of Churches campaign to restrict advertising in the third world of its infant formula mix. UN scientists have found that Nestle's aggressive advertising had led third world mothers who might have breast fed and who couldn't read the warnings on labels to mix the formula with polluted water. Last week the UN, with only the U.S. dissenting, backed a ban on such advertising.

In October 1979 Lefever's Center paid *Fortune* writer Herman Nickel \$5,000 to do a study of the infant formula contro-



The probe into Lefever's Nestle ties ended when he bolted abruptly from the room.

versy, concentrating on the American opponents of Nestle. In March 1980 Nestle donated \$5,000 to the Center. In June Nickel's attack on Nestle's opponents, entitled "The Corporation Haters," appeared in *Fortune*. In August Nestle donated another \$20,000 to the center. In September the Center reprinted and mailed out thousands of copies of Nickel's article, using a list obtained from Nestle's American public relations firm.

Whatever appearance of conflict of

interest was contained in this sequence

was confirmed by a memo leaked by a Nestle's employee. The August 1980 memo from Nestle's executive E.W. Saunders calls for using "independent third parties" to bear the burden of Nestle's campaign. In response to one executive's concern that "Nestle should not be seen to be the dominant subscriber to the Ethics and Public Policy Center," Saunders reports that Nestle's American counsel, Thomas J. Ward, "informs us that there are ways in which this matter can be satisfactorily handled."

Dodd led Lefever through this sequence, asking him repeatedly to tell the committee what the center's position was on conflicts of interest. As Lefever grew more rattled—his hands shook as he rustled the papers on the table—Dodd

moved in for the kill.

"Who recommended the public relations firm that gave you the mailing list?" Dodd asked.

"A friend," Lefever replied.

"Was the friend associated with the Nestle's Corporation?"

"The friend was interested in the subject."

"Was the friend associated with the Nestle's corporation?"

(Long silence.) "The friend had done some consulting work for the Nestle Corporation."

The "friend," as Lefever finally admitted, was Thomas J. Ward. As Dodd asked him whether the mailing had not been the largest ever done by the center, Lefever rose from his seat, clutching his stomach, and said that he would have to be excused "for medical reasons." He rushed from the room, with a State Department advisor following close behind him.

At the end of the hearing, Lefever finally acceded to the committee's demand that he provide them with a list of the center's contributors. Close study of that list could further undermine Lefever's reputation and force the "swing" Republicans on the committee like Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.) and Nancy Kassenbaum (Kan.) to vote against confirmation.

But even in the face of an unfavorable recommendation, Reagan may decide to fight for Lefever on the Senate floor, where he can muster an alliance of conservative Republicans and Democrats to challenge the likes of both Percy and Tsongas. Reagan didn't back down on the mob-tainted Raymond Donovan, so there is probably no reason he will back down on Ernest Lefever.

IN THE NATION

POLITICS



Irish rally to cause they left behind

By James Cusick

LAUGHING WITH BITTER GOOD humor, the demonstrator wiped his feet on the soiled Union Jack and held it up to cheering onlookers. "Anybody else need to wipe something off their feet?" he asked. Six companions eagerly came forward.

That, in a nutshell, was the reaction of about 200 Chicago Irish-Americans to the death of Bobby Sands, member of the Irish Republican Army and recently elected MP in the British Parliament.

Twenty-four hours after Sands died in Maze prison on the 66th day of his hunger strike, demonstrators converged on the home of Chicago's British consulate. Chanting "Thatcher is a murderer," and "England out," the demonstrators—blue-collar workers, students, housewives, children and shop owners—waved placards bearing pictures of Sands and three other IRA hunger strikers and shouted at the whirring news cameras.

The growing crisis in Northern Ireland—spawned from a test of wills between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and jailed IRA members who are demanding that Britain recognize them as political prisoners—has had repercussions throughout Irish America. But perhaps nowhere with a more surprising result than Chicago. The long-standing alienation between Chicago's Irish establishment in city hall and the Irish neighborhoods on the city's northwest side and in the southwest suburbs has seldom been more noticeable than under the emotion-packed circumstances of the current "Ulster troubles."

Even as Sands' death was noted with sympathy by state legislatures and politicians around the United States, Mayor Jane Byrne's administration maintained a strategic silence on the subject, apparently more concerned with the mayor's image in the black community and the knotty problem of Chicago's school desegregation plan.

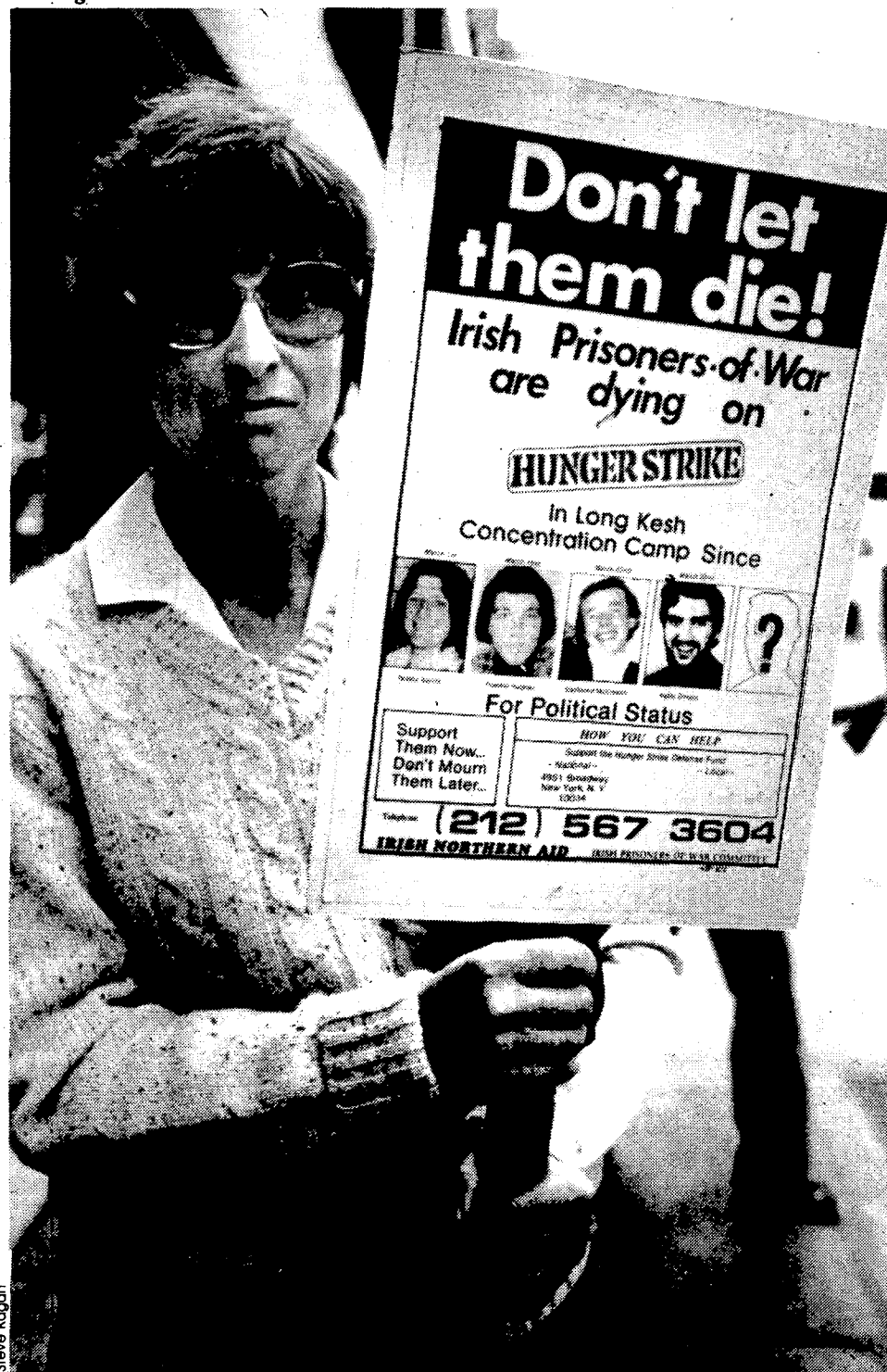
Not so the Irish on the northwest side. In taverns and local gathering places, Chicago's hard-bitten Irish—many of whom immigrated in the 1950s bringing bitter memories of the poverty that drove them from their native land—wear shamrocks laced in black to mourn Sands.

They are a close-knit group, part of about 30,000 foreign-born Irish in this

city. To them, Sands and Francis Hughes, the second striker to die, are two more Irish martyrs and two more Irish corpses—both courtesy of British policy in Northern Ireland. Chicago's Irish make no bones about their stance on that policy: "The British have no right to Ireland," said one man.

Raised in staunch Irish Republican

IRA supporters have conducted daily pickets in front of the British consulate in Chicago.



households, none of these people has any qualms about supporting the IRA. In the past few weeks, they've broadcast that support over Irish radio stations and in daily pickets in front of the British consulate. They've told local politicians and aldermen to take a more anti-British stance on Northern Ireland or risk the anger of Irish voters and precinct captains. And they've raised money—about \$15,000 to \$20,000 each year—to send to Northern Ireland.

The power of pocket money.

Virtually all these activities have been carried out under the auspices of Irish Northern Aid (NorAid), a pro-IRA fundraising group that also acts as the mouthpiece for the Provisional's cause in the U.S.

No one knows for sure what NorAid's funds are used for, but Irish and American officials have repeatedly asserted that a large portion of the money goes to buy weapons and ammunition for the IRA. Local Chicago members don't much care to discuss reports of arms traffic in NorAid; strangers who bring up the topic are viewed with suspicion.

Occasionally someone will disparage the government's allegations. "The Justice Department has had 10 years to prove them," said one woman, a native of Derry. "And if I have \$10 left over at the end of the week, and I want to send nine of those dollars to Ireland, why can't I do whatever I want with it? I'm not breaking any American laws. I should be able to use my pocket money the way I want to."

NorAid sympathies among Chicago's Irish run deep. Like their relatives overseas, Chicago's Irish seem imbued with a sense that the ideals of the 1916 Easter Uprising—and the united Ireland it proclaimed—have been betrayed. Those sentiments are reinforced by frequent letters from family in Northern Ireland chronicling the common story of sons and brothers being arrested by police and held incommunicado for seven days, or of "clean" youths with no IRA connections being harassed or searched.

The anti-British feelings expressed with reservation in Ireland have found much more fertile ground among Irish immi-

grants in the U.S. NorAid's central tenet was succinctly expressed on one picket sign: "Protestants and Catholics are not enemies in Northern Ireland. Britain is the enemy."

That attitude is hardly conducive to patience or compromise. "Negotiation?" said John Morrison, Midwest chairman of NorAid. "The British army in Ireland is like a burglar that robs my house then says, 'Let's sit down and negotiate.'"

Hostility toward Britain is matched by equal hostility toward the Republic of Ireland, regarded as little more than a British puppet state. Many Irish immigrants believe that the Republic abandoned the Catholics in Northern Ireland during the harshest years of violence be-

Feelings run deep in the taverns on Chicago's Northwest side, fueled by letters from family and friends back home.

tween 1969 and 1972, when defenseless civil rights demonstrators were attacked in the streets by Protestant extremists and the British army.

"My feelings is they're traitors," said Alex Murphy, a 78-year-old Belfast man who has two nephews—both IRA men—in the Maze Prison.

"I think a lot of them [politicians] is getting paid off by the British—the like of Gerry Fitt. He's against the Provos, he's against the hunger strike, he's against the Catholic people!"

The court takes action.

It's hardly surprising, then, that between 250 and 300 Chicago Irish have become hardcore members of Irish Northern Aid, with many more giving tacit support.

At least three members of NorAid—all from East Coast chapters—have been convicted on charges related to the illegal purchase or transport of arms since 1975. NorAid's Dublin agent, Joe Cahill, who received \$94,700 from the organization in 1972, was widely reputed to be an IRA "quartermaster," and was convicted in 1973 of trying to bring weapons into the Republic of Ireland illegally.

The New York headquarters of NorAid has always insisted that the approximately \$2 million it has raised since 1971, when it first began disclosing its finances under the Foreign Registration Act, has gone to aid families of IRA prisoners in Northern Ireland.

In the most recent bout between the organization and the American government, a New York federal court judge ruled May 2 that NorAid must register as an agent of the IRA in the United States and disclose much more information about where its funds go and what they are used for. NorAid has 60 days to appeal the decision.

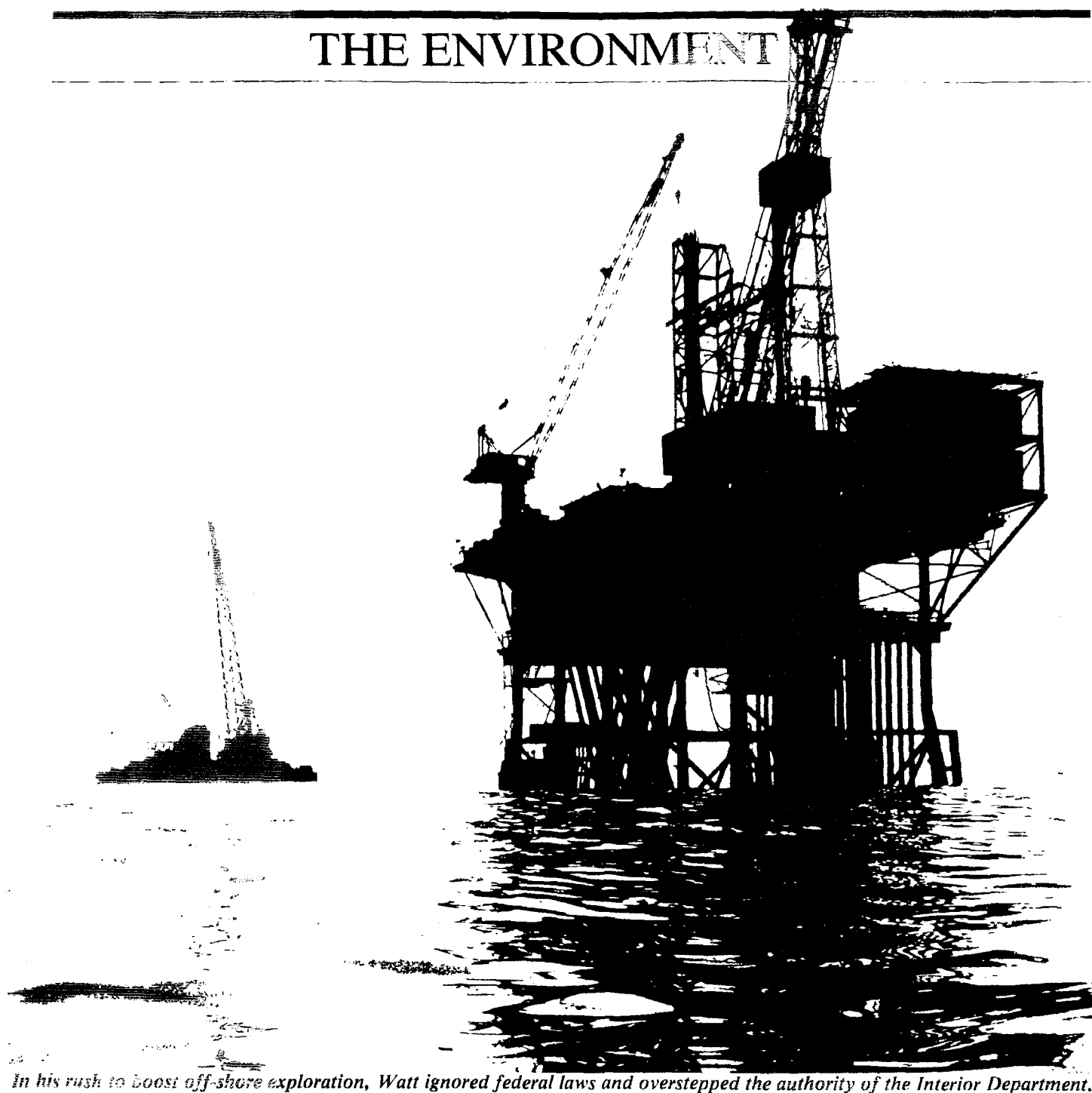
In Illinois, where NorAid chapters have raised \$110,596 since 1973, the court decision has had little impact on the Irish community.

"We feel we're already in compliance with the court's ruling," the Midwest chairman said. "I'm totally convinced that NorAid money does not go for guns."

Meanwhile, NorAid's support among Chicago Irish seems to be growing, with new people joining its pickets every day. Whether this represents growing Irish-American support for the IRA, or simply outrage at the recent deaths, is difficult to say. But the continuing hunger strike at Maze Prison is likely to push even those who deplore violence closer toward the IRA camp. Margaret Thatcher, with her usual stubbornness, seems bent on rousing Irish Catholic national fervor by creating Irish martyrs. That has never inclined the Irish toward peaceful resolve.

James Cusick, a former *In These Times* intern, will graduate from Northwestern University in June.

THE ENVIRONMENT



In his rush to boost off-shore exploration, Watt ignored federal laws and overstepped the authority of the Interior Department.

Watt treads on coastal toes

By Thomas Brom

SAN FRANCISCO

INTERIOR SECRETARY JAMES Watt's one-man development crusade has been slowed considerably in California by a flurry of lawsuits aimed at blocking offshore oil lease sales in areas previously exempted from exploration.

Just two days after Watt announced his intention to revive Lease Sale #53 in the Santa Maria Basin, Governor Jerry Brown and five state agencies filed papers in Los Angeles for a preliminary injunction.

At the same time, 22 environmental groups filed a parallel suit. One week later 10 counties and six cities joined in opposition. The Coastal States Organization, which represents 35 states and territories, has offered its support, as have Oregon, Alaska, and Florida.

Secretary Watt obviously stepped on a few toes to provoke such broad opposition. The lawsuits contend that he violated provisions of three separate federal laws protecting the outer continental shelf by pushing ahead with the lease sales.

Among other things, the state charges that Watt ignored the recommendations of Governor Brown and the California Coastal Commission, refused to submit his plans for state review, and violated federal laws protecting the habitat of the southern sea otter and the California grey whale.

"Mr. Watt," said a visibly angry Governor Brown, "is engineering a systematic wrecking operation that ill befits a public servant."

In the weeks that followed, the Secretary appeared to back off a bit, meeting with environmental groups he had previously called "hired guns" and endorsing Tom Garrett as head of the U.S. delegation to the International Whaling Commission.

But despite the new soft sell, Watt remains grimly serious about developing

off-shore oil on the outer continental shelf. He has announced plans to boost more than tenfold the off-shore oil leases his department will offer through 1985—opening up, on average, an incredible 200 million acres for new exploration each year.

The lease sale controversy in California has as much to do with the Secretary's methods as his policies. Watt apparently ignores federal law that stands in his way, and has enlisted the help of other top governmental officials to get what he wants. The degree of inter-office coordination in this matter, according to officials in the California Coastal Commission, is highly unusual and potentially very dangerous.

"The Secretary has already acquired a great deal of power," says Coastal Commission assistant executive director William Travis.

"He's actually making changes in coastal management laws that are under the authority of the Commerce Department—not Interior—and he's getting away with it."

As proof, Travis pulls out a March 17 letter from Watt to Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige. The letter advocates revising a key phrase in the Coastal Zone Management Act that would exempt pending off-shore oil lease sales from state approval.

"I recommend that the revision process be moved to a fast track," Watt writes in the letter. "I want to work closely with you and Dave Stockman to improve these regulations before they do serious harm."

Scrawled in a bold hand across the top of the page is Watt's note: "Mac—this letter is of critical importance to us. I want to personally discuss it with you—Jim."

Quick-change definitions.

It appears that Watt was not kidding about the fast track. Less than eight weeks later, a new Commerce Department rule redefining the phrase "directly affect" appeared in the May 11 Interior Department response to the California

lawsuits. Mention of the new rule in the government's brief actually preceded its official publication in the Federal Register.

The new wording undercuts one of the state's major legal arguments since it is contending that oil lease sales on the outer continental shelf "directly affect" the coastal environment and thus are subject to state approval.

"As nearly as we can figure from this definition," said one Coastal Commission official, "you could have a bulldozer out there on the beach, but as long as it had not dropped the blade yet, there would be no direct effect."

The cross-department rule changes are only one example of Watt's headlong drive toward private development that includes behind the scenes help from the vice president and Chevron USA.

Early this year, George Bush sent out

letters to the country's biggest energy corporations soliciting suggestions for making their job easier. Chevron USA senior vice president L.C. Soileau replied February 11 with a remarkable document that outlines a point-by-point attack on key paragraphs from a half dozen environmental laws.

The Chevron letter recommends that many areas now excluded from federal lease sales be opened for development, including the Pt. Reyes/Farallons and Channel Islands Marine Sanctuaries, and lease areas with low preliminary estimates of oil reserves.

Soileau also advocates withholding Commerce Department funds from states that oppose off-shore leasing and development, and using a "national interest" standard to break through existing environmental laws.

But the very first recommendation on an 11-page summary attached to the letter is revision of the "direct affect" definition in order to exempt federal lease sales from state review.

Since receipt of the Chevron letter, the Interior Department has also suspended regulations banning oil and gas exploration in the California marine sanctuaries.

Rights or riches?

All of this has aroused environmentalists and state politicians up and down the coast. "It's a direct attack on the state's conservationists," says Chris Dearth, an aide to Assemblyman Tom Bates. "I also think Interior is trying to break the power of the Coastal Commission."

Naomi Swartz, an expert on off-shore oil leases who works as an aide to Assemblyman Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, believes the rush to lease tracts along the northern and southern California coasts has less to do with oil than with the rights of energy corporations.

"There are 194 million barrels of oil under all five tracts of Lease Sale #53," she says. "That's only a 10-day supply for the nation, at untold cost to the environment. But the oil companies are eager to nail down their rights."

Chevron USA spokesman David Young echoed that opinion at company headquarters in San Francisco. Chevron is the most likely heavy bidder for the north coast tracts.

"We're keeping a low profile on the lease sales," Young said. "Even the American Petroleum Institute has an official 'no comment.' Northern California off-shore tracts may not be the hottest property in the United States, but we're fighting this one for the principle."

"Even if there's nothing there, it's important to have the right to look for oil wherever it might be. We're very excited about Alaska off-shore sales, and don't want to make this fight all over again up there."

Young also had a parting shot for critics of Lease Sale #53 who use the "10-day supply" argument.

"Look, all the fish off the north coast would only feed America one meal," he said. "We need all the oil we can get to protect our national security."

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TOXICS

In spring, some people's thoughts turn to pesticides

By Deborah Bouton

WASHINGTON

TWICE A YEAR, IN THE INTEREST of "the safety of our employees," according to acting president Daniel Scannell, the Long Island Railroad sprays its tracks with herbicides to kill off weeds that might otherwise hide any track hazards. But Local 808 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which represents workers on the Long Island Railroad, believes that if the company were truly concerned about the health of its workers it would have suspended spraying operations long ago—say, when a survey of the 33 births among its 750 members in 1978 revealed 11 children born with defects, nearly three times the national average.

That finding spurred an investigation by the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), which after a year and a half has little to say about the incident other than that the study is "ongoing." In the meantime, the railroad has staunchly refused to put its spray program on hold. But according to John Mahoney, secretary-treasurer of the local, "They're not going to get a spray train on the property. The day they try it, that's the day we shut down the railroad."

Last July, after a woman was hit with pesticide drift from a helicopter spraying a utility right-of-way along Egypt Ridge, W. Va., and complained to the state environmental task force, the state got an agreement from the Monongalia Power Co. to halt its spray program until the incident could be investigated. But two days later—on a Saturday, when state offices were closed—the spraying resumed. As a helicopter working for the utility neared the home of Bob Welch and his family, Welch grabbed his rifle, went outside and took aim, sending the heli-

copter whirring away in retreat.

Welch was arrested and charged with brandishing a weapon—the pilot wasn't sure whether he had actually been fired on. At the trial he pleaded self-defense—and was acquitted. "He got out of a \$50 fine and ended up paying \$500 in legal fees instead, but it was a victory that others can look to," says Steven White of the local Citizens Opposed to Toxic Sprays.

When a California company wanted to test a new method of applying the pesticide Malathion to kill the Mediterranean fruit fly, the state, which has the toughest pesticide laws in the country, refused to grant a permit. So the manufacturer decided to conduct its test elsewhere—in a rural farmworker community in Texas, where pesticide laws are vir-

Each year, 1.2 billion pounds of chemicals are sprayed on U.S. farms and forests.

tually nonexistent. The plan was to crystallize the spray into granular form, coat it with a sweetener that would appeal to flies, and drop it from the air. "But who else besides the fruit flies would go after it? That's what we were afraid of," says Alcario Samudio of Texas Rural Legal Aid (TRLA), adding that paint has peeled off cars hit with Malathion. TRLA and the Texas Farmworkers Union got wind of the test two days before it was to be conducted and raised such a stink that the plan was cancelled.

Those are just a few of the skirmishes in a loosely coordinated national campaign against unrestricted pesticide use.



Farmworkers come in daily contact with crops sprayed with suspected toxics.

Despite the lessons of DDT, Agent Orange and other chemicals originally deemed "safe," there is still a disquieting casualness about the 1.2 billion pounds of pesticides in 35,000 varieties that are sprayed each year on American farms and forests. Most of these components

have "never been adequately tested for human health and environmental effects," according to Steven Jellinek, former assistant administrator for pesticides and toxic substances with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Large agricultural growers credit pesticides with doubling U.S. food production since they first hit the market in 1945; critics point out that while harvests may in fact have doubled, today pests destroy twice as many crops—despite a ten-fold increase in the use of chemical controls. And as more and more pests become resistant to pesticides, ever more toxic poisons must be created to keep them in check.

Chemical companies continue to pour millions into developing and promoting pesticides, scoffing any proven alternatives and claiming that without chemical pest controls, our food supplies are doomed.

Over the past several years farmworkers, rural residents and environmentalists have intensified their demands for adequate protections against potentially harmful pesticide programs. The government has been slow to respond. Steady pressure from a strong agricultural lobby is in large part responsible for this inaction, but some observers fault the tactics of the scattered, single-hazard anti-pesticide groups as well.

"Environmental groups have focused

Continued on page 8

Opponents of spraying try new tactics

By J.A. Savage

HUMBOLDT COUNTY, CALIF.

AERIAL SPRAYING OF THE herbicide 2,4-D began in mid-April in the forests of northern California and southern Oregon during what the California attorney general had aptly designated as "Forgotten Victims Week." Three timber companies—Champion International, Louisiana-Pacific and Simpson—and two government agencies—the United States Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management—planned to spray almost 20,000 acres of forest lands with an herbicide feared by many to be carcinogenic (causing cancer), mutagenic (causing mutations) and teratogenic (causing birth defects).

The herbicide, 2,4-D (one component of the notorious Agent Orange) is sprayed by helicopter over clear-cut forest land to effect "conifer release." The chemical causes the broad-leaved vegetation that grows alongside commercially valuable conifers to grow itself to death, thereby "releasing" the conifers to more sun.

But the sprayed herbicides have had a stubborn tendency to drift off target onto neighboring lands and into the water supply of people living near the spray areas.

And the affected water does not stay still; it flows into rivers that serve as the main fisheries and water supply for the surrounding urban areas.

Opposition to the spraying mounted in the mid-1970s when women near sprayed areas noticed an alarming tendency toward miscarriages and birth defects in their pregnancies. An Indian community health workers near Hoopa, Calif., a small rural town heavily sprayed in 1976, reported 100 percent birth abnormalities in that year. But while opponents emphasize health hazards, they also dispute timber industry claims that spraying is cost-effective.

While the companies claim it is cheaper to spray, local citizens say that it is better in the long run to use labor-intensive methods of conifer release. And some have actually organized forest co-operatives and bid competitively to get jobs in "manual conifer release."

Claudio Katz, a resource specialist in manual release said, "They [the industry] say it's \$25 an acre to spray. That's not true. It's \$25 an acre for the cost of the contract itself. They don't count monitoring, appeals, public relations, degradation to fisheries, degradation to the forest worker, and the value of hardwoods. When you add up all the indirect, hidden costs, you're up to about \$160 per acre." Katz said that that fig-

ure can be favorably compared to manual release.

One group of residents near a California spray site did negotiate with Champion International to perform hand release for the same amount of money it would cost the company to spray. Another group in southern Oregon bid to manually release an area slated for spraying by the BLM. They were rejected at first, but when they offered to do it for free, they were reluctantly accepted.

Other communities have taken or threatened more direct action to thwart the sprayers. Last spring, threats of guerrilla action appeared to deter the Forest Service from spraying. This year the opposition has focused on legal blockades.

Eleven administrative appeals are now pending on spray plans in southern Oregon (including one filed in 1979 that still has not been heard). In California, several "proper channels" have been attempted, so far without success. The timber companies were able to defeat ballot initiatives to stop the sprays in the two affected counties in California, waging what spray opponents say were the most expensive campaigns in the two counties' history.

But despite the outcome of the initiatives, the companies have been made to own up to some basic rules of safety in the last few years, particularly with re-

gard to water supplies. Water monitoring by the North Coast (Calif.) Regional Water Quality Control Board found that 40 percent of its tests for 2,4-D in major watersheds were positive. But although this revelation is bad press, the timber companies rarely pay for their sloppiness. Prosecution is up to the notoriously conservative state attorney general and even wrist-slapping ends up mired in red tape. Oregon, on the other hand, doesn't even have a state water monitoring program—the sprayers are expected to monitor themselves.

When all else fails, residents of areas slated for spraying simply evacuate. "I left at 5:30 this morning to avoid the spray," said Olga Loya of Trinidad, Calif. "Somewhere between 50 and 100 people left their homes." Loya was one of a group of citizens who helped organize a 400-family phone tree for emergency evacuation. She said that the timber companies were supposed to let people know 24 hours ahead of time. "We nailed them on that law," she said. "But we had to do the work."

Loya also said that one of the companies doing the spraying, Louisiana-Pacific, met with the community on numerous occasions. "And I really resent the argument that they keep coming up with—that we can drink coffee and eat sugar and salt and it has a worse effect—without stating that those things are within our control. I have no choice when somebody sprays me."

J.A. Savage reports regularly from the Northwest on environmental issues.

IN THE WORLD

GREAT BRITAIN

Jobs issue scuttles Tories as Labour sweeps local races

By Sylvia Collier

LONDON

ON THE LAST DAY OF MAY, the People's March for Jobs is due to arrive here at the end of a 280-mile trek through many of the English towns that offer ample evidence of the fact that one in 10 of the working population is now without a job.

The marchers set off from Liverpool in England's northwest, recognized internationally as the Beatles' launch pad and domestically for its unemployment rate of 14.2 percent.

The march has been organized by the national Trades Union Congress as a public denunciation of the monetarist policies that the TUC believes are pushing the country ever closer to economic collapse—and unemployment ever higher. Along the route to London the marchers will stop overnight in church halls, private homes and universities, passing through towns like Stockport (unemployment 10.5 percent), Macclesfield (8.1 percent) and Bradford (12.3 percent). Among them are "redundant" or laid off workers who will never get another job and school-leavers who have never had one.

Unemployment was the single most important issue that sent Labour supporters to the polls in England and Wales in early May in the first real test of how the electorate views two years of Thatcherism. The result—decisive and even surprising wins for Labour and crushing defeats for the Tories in some of their most true-blue rural constituencies—was described by Labour Party leader Michael Foot as "an absolute condemnation of monetarist

The stage is set for confrontation between national government and local authorities.

policies and policies that have led to mass unemployment."

Labour won control of all the big metropolitan counties as well as London. They swept to power in four—Greater Manchester, West Midlands, Merseyside and West Yorkshire—and held on to the other two—Tyne and Wear and South Yorkshire. There were victories too in the rural counties—Cheshire, which had never been anything but Tory, was won by Labour, and the deeply Conservative Lancashire also fell to the opposition party.

As Labour supporters celebrated throughout the country local leaders were busy making plans to challenge Mrs. Thatcher's monetarism. And faced with newly-elected local authorities determined to restore the spending cuts imposed by the Tories, the government went into swift preparation for confrontation. A Labour victory half-way through the term had been anticipated in light of the difficult economic climate.

The result of these elections will be a severe disruption of the normally tolerant relationships between national and local government. At stake is the principle of local government by local authority.

The Thatcher government has already indicated it may resort to sacking local councils that refuse to go along with the

Conservatives' public sector spending cuts and replace them with commissioners to run local affairs. A lesser, but equally tough option being considered is to enact measures giving the central government control over how much money local authorities can raise from their residents through property taxes.

Over the past year or so the government has penalized high-spending local councils by withdrawing their subsidies from central funds. Those councils were then faced with bowing to central government policies and cutting services or raising the rates to pay for them.

Local Labour parties are saying the May vote shows that the electorate is more keen on preserving services—and consequently jobs—than on toeing the line on public spending. And some of the newly-elected authorities readily admitted in their campaigns that their plans will involve more contributions

has been under mounting criticism, there are moves to make the force accountable to the local authority—and screeches from the Conservatives that the left-wingers at County Hall will attempt to politicize the police force. London is the only metropolitan area in England where the police are not controlled by the local authority but report directly to the Home Secretary. One of the first decisions of the new council was to set up an advisory committee on the police and to make its chair the first black ever to win a seat on the GLC, Paul Boateng.

All this is striking deep at the Conservatives. The party chair, Lord Thorneycroft, admitted that the election results were "rough," but insisted they would not change the government's policies "one jot or tittle."

The government's Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine warned that Labour control of the county halls could



Because of scenes like this at local employment offices, the new Labour-dominated London Council is determined to fund job-creation programs in defiance of Margaret Thatcher's monetarist policies.

from rate-payers. But the Labour victory should not be viewed as a reawakening of public conscience as much as a self-interested vote against the Tory policies' effect on the likelihood of finding a job or keeping one.

The size of the Labour victory was impressive in the north where job losses have been most severe. But Labour also won back control of the Greater London Council. Within hours a controversial left-winger, Ken Livingstone, was installed as leader of the largest local authority in the world with a budget of two billion pounds.

Labour lost no time in implementing its policy for Greater London. The morning after the election it announced actions that completely reversed the Conservative strategy: spending to achieve a cut in fares on London Transport and spending to set up a new job creation and investment agency.

The new Labour-controlled Greater London Council (GLC) will also review London's housing policy—the Conservatives launched a scheme to sell off publicly-owned housing—and will do its best to prevent huge areas of land in central London from being redeveloped, as seemed likely under the Tories, for offices.

The new Labour administration also says it will take a tough line against transport of nuclear waste and nuclear weapons through the capital and will suspend the programs of "civil defense" from nuclear attack.

In London, where the role of the police

lead to a head-on confrontation between Labour councils and the government and gave notice that the government will fight to maintain control.

Meanwhile, the March for Jobs progresses from the north to the south. The previous Conservative administration in London had, naturally enough, con-

demned the march. Now Labour says the doors of County Hall, the grand building that stands majestically on the banks of the Thames just across the river from Westminster, will be throw open and the marchers will get a civic reception before spreading out their sleeping bags across its ceremonial chambers.

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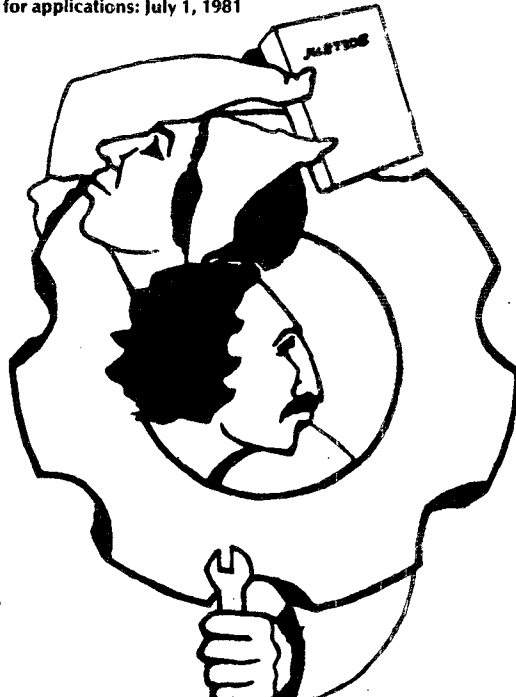
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Pests

Continued from page 6

mainly on the registration and cancellation of the most dangerous pesticides—which is very important—but they've not been as strong in dealing with the misuses of pesticides that have been determined 'safe,'" says attorney Charles Horwitz of the Migrant Legal Action Program (MLAP). And farmworkers—who come in daily contact with suspected toxics—simply do not carry much political clout at the national level. (According to MLAP, five million farmworkers are exposed to pesticides each year and 21,400 poisoned, some fatally.)

The move for stronger controls faces

an uphill fight in the Reagan Congress. The Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), the law that regulates pesticide use, is up for reauthorization this year and the National Agricultural Chemical Association informed its members in a March report that it plans to "seek adjustments" in regulations relating to the public disclosure of data and the reporting of "unreasonable adverse effects of pesticides," among others. The trade organization does not anticipate much resistance from legislators.

Moreover, since 1978 the "primary enforcement responsibility" for FIFRA has shifted from the feds to the states. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is still responsible for labeling each pesticide product with instructions for its proper, legal use—such as whether protective clothing must be worn, what crops it can be used on and under what weather con-

ditions it must be applied. The states are charged with making sure that applicators follow the instructions.

But there are problems: For one, EPA is in the process of re-evaluating many of the 35,000 pesticides currently on the market, so the labels on many products are out of date. And for the most part EPA relies on data submitted by the pesticide manufacturers themselves—or by researchers funded directly by the chemical industry—to determine what constitutes a product's "safe" use. (In many cases this data is kept confidential because the industry claims releasing it to the public would divulge valuable trade secrets.) The agency also grants "conditional registrations" for new pesticide products, allowing them to be on the market for as long as three years before all the facts are in.

At the same time, most of the states

designate their agriculture departments as the lead agencies charged with enforcing pesticide laws. Those departments typically are dominated by large-scale growers who rely extensively on pesticides; they often have been accused of putting more effort into promoting pesticides than regulating their use, and of hampering efforts to pass protective legislation.

In fact, only one state, California, has passed a law requiring that cases of pesticide poisoning even be reported. The agricultural industry has fought long and successfully to keep such a law off the federal books.

"Mandatory reporting laws for hit-and-run accidents involving automobiles exist in all 50 states," Horwitz of MLAP says. "We believe the same thing should apply with pesticide hit-and-run—and the perpetrators should lose their licenses."

But MLAP and other national farmworker organizations have tried in vain since 1975 to get EPA to adopt a mandatory reporting requirement. And even when exposure incidents are reported, EPA is reluctant to penalize wrongdoers. Of 149 violations investigated by EPA between 1977 and 1978, the agency chose to levy only four fines—three for \$1,000 and one for \$100.

For that reason, more and more people are bypassing EPA altogether and taking the chemical manufacturers directly to criminal court—with some success. Dow Company recently settled with five families in Globe, Ariz., who sued the corporation for permanent injuries suffered when Kuron, a herbicide related to Agent Orange, was sprayed over their homes 12 years ago. One of the 20 plaintiffs has since died of cancer. One of Dow's conditions for reaching the agreement, however, was that the amount of the settlement not be disclosed.

Pulling out the stops.

Last year, largely in response to a petition filed by MLAP, EPA took its first real step toward giving farmworkers a voice in setting federal pesticide policy. Acknowledging that it heard every day from agribusiness and chemical lobbyists but seldom if ever from workers, EPA funded Rural America, a national nonprofit advocacy organization, to hold three regional forums—in Texas, Florida and California—that would bring farmworkers and federal and state officials together to discuss pesticide policies.

It didn't take long for the agricultural industry to get wind of the project. By the time the second (Florida) forum took place in May, the state Farm Bureau had organized a contingent of nearly 40 growers who showed up and demanded time to speak. Four farmworkers scheduled to testify left after their employers reportedly told them they would lose their jobs if they spoke out. Regional and national chemical and agribusiness organizations subsequently pulled out all the stops to kill the project—and succeeded.

But the issue is not going to go away. A February meeting in Washington, D.C., to inaugurate the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides (NCAMP) brought together a number of diverse groups that have been on the frontlines of the pesticides issue (Friends of the Earth, California Rural Legal Assistance, the National Association of Farmworkers) with unaffiliated activists from rural communities in 13 states. Jay Feldman of the Consumer Coalition for Health, who is serving as national coordinator for NCAMP, hopes the new group will forge the traditionally fragmented opposition to pesticides and herbicides into a united front for stronger protections and against regulatory rollbacks.

The 50-odd people at the NCAMP meeting realize they're in for a long haul. As Mac Corbin, a small farmer from Louisiana put it, "We've got to do with the pesticide movement what's been done with the anti-nuclear movement—push the issue again and again until the government and the industry have to pay attention to what we're saying."

Deborah Bouton is an editor of *Rural America*.

For more information on NCAMP, contact the Consumer Coalition for Health, P.O. Box 50088, Washington, DC 20004.



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FRANCE

Looking beyond dancing in the streets

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

FRENCH LABOR IS WAKING UP to its change in fortune with a caution worthy of Lech Walesa. That is, there is a strong pervading sense that demanding too much too fast could wreck an historic opportunity for lasting social change.

The election of Socialist Francois Mitterand as president of the French republic reverses the relationship of forces within the labor-management-government bargaining trio that decides many social questions at the national level.

"We now belong to the presidential majority," said Communist Georges Seguy, secretary general of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), in a striking phrase deliberately meant to drive home to militants that they are now in a completely new situation. The CGT has ground to a halt as it prepares to shift from its recent policy of nearly constant (if superficial and largely fruitless) agitation, of warning strikes and protest marches, to a new period of negotiations presided over by a friendly government.

The rival French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) is adjusting with greater ease to the new situation, since it had already shifted a couple of years ago to emphasis on negotiations, a policy frustrated by the right-wing government's firm alliance with the *patronat* (management). CFDT leaders feel their long careful study of the technicalities of a whole range of problems is at last about to pay off, and they immediately spelled out a number of short, medium and long-range goals, starting with an increase in the minimum wage but extending to qualitative social measures such as easier access to abortion.

CFDT leaders were aglow with what secretary general Edmond Maire described as a "profound and serene joy." But Maire cautioned that while the election had succeeded in "breaking up the government-*patronat* couple," the victory was severely limited by the ongoing strength of capitalist management, "especially in a system that is open to the world and should remain so."

The CFDT called for gradual reduction of the work week to 35 hours with no loss of wages and adoption of a fifth week of paid annual leave over the next five years, combined with fiscal measures to help small and medium businesses meet the higher cost of labor so that more and not fewer jobs result. The CFDT also called for a 30 percent increase in the real purchasing power of the minimum wage spread over the next three years, combined with efforts to prevent the pay raises at the bottom from pushing the whole wage mass upwards.

In short, the CFDT is acutely aware of the dangers of inflation that could "put France at the mercy of the IMF or the Bundesbank." "An economic and monetary debacle after an unchecked distribution of income would be followed by political defeat," Maire warned, "and the right would come back to power for another generation."

The CGT wants to move faster in raising the minimum wage to 3,500 francs per month (the franc has fluctuated in recent months from 4 to 5.5 to the dollar; most French employees are paid a 13th month's salary in December, which usually covers annual income tax). CGT number two leader Henri Krasucki said it was also urgent to develop a new industrial policy. But Seguy added that the CGT was making "no take it or leave it proposals" and was ready to negotiate patiently for "durable change."

Both the CGT and the CFDT announced that membership recruitment, after a long slump, has picked up briskly. Rivalry between the two labor organizations may be held in check by the undeniable popular desire for left unity.

Navigation into the invisible future is influenced by memories of past shipwrecks, and the French left today does not want to repeat the mistakes of the 1936 Popular Front, whose ephemeral success was soon followed by the revenge of the right at Vichy, thanks to Hitler's invasion. Exactly 45 years ago, the electoral victory of the left parties brought Socialist Leon Blum to office as prime minister. The victory set off a vast wave of strikes that caught everyone by surprise. By the end of May, some two million workers were on strike, occupying 9,000 factories. "Everything is possible!" left-wing Socialist Marceau Pivert wrote in his paper *Le Populaire*, and from his exile in Norway Trotsky announced that "The French revolution has begun." This was definitely not the opinion of French Communist Party (PCF) leader

In 1936 the slogan was "Everything is possible." This time the unions are urging caution.

alizations.

Maire said that as in 1936 and 1945, the arrival of the left in power should be marked by a major institutionalized advance for labor, and proposed that this should be a "genuine active role" for the union local within each company. Perhaps as a start, he suggested that workers' organizations should keep an anti-inflationary eye on pricing practices of the companies they work for at a time when private capital may deliberately feed inflation to discredit the left. This institutional advance would not cost anything, and would help lay the ground for the CFDT's long-range goals of democratic economic planning and decentralization. Other major CFDT objectives include a public health system based on prevention, new relations with the third world and a law to assure sexual equality in all jobs.

A new pragmatism.

In 1981 the mood of the workers does not at all seem likely to produce a 1936-style social explosion, nor is there a vigorous revolutionary far left to egg them on. In the past few years, the important Trotskyist strain in the French far left seems to have rapidly been losing faith in its traditional strategy of the general strike, without finding any other. The current

ture against rising fascism. The Communists feared that their participation in government would unduly alarm the British, leading Britain into closer relations with the fascist powers.

Today, the PCF wants to take part in the government, as it did after World War II, and appears ready to make an honest effort to help the left succeed. But it is probable that the PCF has serious doubts about Mitterand's chances of success, based on its own economic analysis.

The vast majority of thoughtful people on the left today are far too sobered by the magnitude of the tasks ahead to be looking for a chance to snipe at the Socialists for "selling out" or "betraying socialism." In 1936 the left was full of lyric enthusiasm and abysmally ignorant of economics. Today, the left has an incomparably greater grasp of economic problems, but the economic problems themselves are also incomparably more complex.

For one thing, Mitterand needs to remodel France's productive apparatus to favor industries producing for the domestic market—the very industries that have been crumbling under the attacks of the outgoing government, whose policies favored export industries with the aim of inserting France firmly into



George Seguy, who heads the General Confederation of Labor, says the CGT is ready to negotiate.

Maurice Thorez, who on this occasion uttered his famous phrase: "It is necessary to know how to end a strike...Everything is not possible."

The strikes, which began spontaneously, were encouraged by groups of Trotskyists, anarchists, left Socialists and a small PCF dissident group, some at least hoping that the general strike would culminate in revolution. French workers never started trying to run the factories, as workers in Northern Italy had done in the 1920 strikes. But it took a while to get everyone back to work, even after union leaders, management and the government signed the Matignon Accord, a major milestone in French labor history that established the 40-hour work week and paid annual leave. But the wage increases won in 1936 were wiped out by inflation within a year.

The 1936 Popular Front gains were renewed in 1945, another milestone year, by the post-war coalition government including Communist ministers that also enacted a major progressive reform of the social security health coverage program as well as the first major nation-

heirs of the anarchist tradition have serious doubts about the revolutionary role of the industrialized working class and are busily absorbed in study of how new technologies may affect social relations. Oddly enough, the working-class movement seems on the whole to have been inoculated against "more revolutionary than thou" agitation by the PCF and CGT's recent parody of ultra-left sectarianism in their vain attempt to outbid the Socialists. Its own criticism of the PCF has served as a sort of mirror for the far left. Prior to the 1978 legislative elections, there was talk of the possibility of *debordement*—of an "overflowing" movement like the 1936 strikes that would overwhelm governing left parties and shove them radically leftward. In 1981, the word seems to have vanished from the political lexicon.

In 1936, the PCF turned down an invitation to take part in Blum's cabinet, preferring to support the Popular Front government in parliament while remaining outside. At that time, unity of all democratic forces was conceived by the Third International as a strictly defensive pos-

the world market. And indeed France is far more dependent on fluctuations in the world market than it has even been, and far more vulnerable to international moves of capital. Unless Mitterand succeeds in improving the competitiveness of French consumer industries, the greater purchasing power to be granted to low-income groups will only go to increase imports, inflation and the commercial deficit.

At the same time, Mitterand must deal with the social shock of technological innovation, which is rapidly reducing demand for hourly manpower. It may well be that the only way to solve these problems involves creation of new relationships with the third world—but this will entail unpredictably dangerous conflicts with an American administration embarked on an aggressive campaign to control third world resources regardless of social cost. Still dazed by abrupt emergence from a long wilderness, the French left has scarcely begun to measure the enormity of the historic challenge and opportunity facing Francois Mitterand.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions express in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

TOTALITY

AS A REGULAR READER OF YOUR PUBLICATION, I have seldom, if ever, found myself in agreement with your positions on the issues. However, I have respected your publication for seeking to avoid factual inaccuracies.

I was therefore surprised to see in your article, "Reagan's legal aid vendetta," by Bill Blum and Gina Lobaco (ITT, April 22), a number of totally false statements.

The authors assert with respect to Legal Services, "Phillips has inaccurately characterized legal services as defending sodomites and transsexuals, organizing prison unions, 'employing avowed Marxists, like Staughton Lynd,' and 'lobbying for new laws that will further socialize America.'" Please indicate to me which part of that statement is untrue. I have extensive files supporting every statement which I have made concerning Legal Services.

The article goes on to say, also inaccurately, that "LSC attorneys are now strictly prohibited from representing clients on issues involving unionization, abortion or integration; and the 1978 Moorhead Amendment to the Legal Services Act forbids lobbying by LSC employees on any pending legislation."

With respect to lobbying, to touch on merely one of these inaccuracies, the Legal Services Corporation Act permits lobbying, either at the request of a member of Congress, or in behalf of a client. Inasmuch as Legal Services attorneys represent organizations, as well as individuals, and because they are not barred from seeking out clients, it is relatively easy for them to lobby.

—Howard Phillips

National Director, The Conservative Caucus

Editor's note: (1) No part of the statement is completely untrue, yet it is inaccurate to characterize the Legal Services Corporation as Phillips does, both because the activities that he implies are LSC's major work are actually a small

part of it and because it is not exactly correct to equate "organizing prison unions" with representing those who are attempting to do so (and then only at the discretion of the warden—Jones v. North Carolina Prisoners Union, Inc.). And, of course, it is a matter of opinion as to whether or not laws for which LSC clients may have lobbied would "further socialize America."

(2) On the second point, LSC lawyers are themselves of two minds. The Moorhead Amendment, which was first passed in 1978 and has been attached to every LSC appropriations bill thereafter, states that "No part of the appropriation shall be used for publicity or propaganda purposes designed to support or defeat legislation pending before Congress or any State legislature." Thus the amendment effectively proscribes lobbying efforts—unless there is a client involved. This is true of all federally mandated organizations.

NOW HE'S GOVERNING

WHEN A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN is over and a candidate wins the election, I try to make it a habit of comparing the winner's campaign platform with their governmental performance. Before me is a two-page advertisement that appeared in the U.S. News & World Report on Nov. 3, 1980, paid for and authorized by the Reagan/Bush Committee. The heading of the ad is entitled "Before you vote..."

In President Ronald Reagan's platform plank "Peace is the Key," is this statement: "The establishment of much closer ties with our allies, and a system of much more frequent communication with our adversaries. There must always be a readiness to talk, to plan, to negotiate, to work non-stop for the world's greatest cause: the cause of peace." My question for President Reagan: Why isn't the above plank being used in his foreign policy with the Soviet Union?

A while back President Leonid Brezhnev offered to President Ronald Reagan

an opportunity to talk together. Reagan refused, saying that he first had to meet with his allies—why? There is no need or reason to converse with other national leaders before sitting down with the president of the Soviet Union. I believe Reagan is contradicting his election mandate.

Reagan's campaign promise speaks of working non-stop for the cause of peace, it doesn't speak of Western nations in a circular bunch. The U.S. is one of the two "superpowers" and we, being a "world power" must have the courage intelligently, peacefully to face our so-called enemy eye-to-eye. Where is Reagan's readiness to talk of peace?

—James G. Borden

Onset, Mass.

A NATURAL

I'M SORRY TO BE LATE WITH THIS check. Your reminding letter stated you hoped I'm "satisfied with" what I've been reading in your fine paper.

I'm more than "satisfied," I'm thrilled to have had the opportunity to read "a socialist newspaper"—the first I've ever seen. I've thought of myself for so long as a very disgruntled and thoroughly disgusted Democrat. But 22 issues of *In These Times* have taught me that I am just a naturally-born socialist, as I drank in every word in every issue—with underlining and expressions of agreement written in.

I wish I could send enough money to put this wonderful weekly publication in every home in this nation! This country calls itself "a nation under God," a truly "Christian Nation," but doesn't realize that true Christianity is a truly social religion; and that a nation under God teaches and keeps God's Ten Commandments for daily living.

—K.G.

Little Rock, Ark.

PLUS ONE

ARTHUR D. KAHN IS ABSOLUTELY right (ITT, May 6). The Hitlerian holocaust is not a unique phenomenon in the history of the Jews, and he cited some instances to prove it. He did not go back far enough, however. Go back over 3,000 years and you see Joshua going into Canaan and slaying every man, woman, child, beast and fowl, leaving nothing alive. Pretty good holocaust, wouldn't you say? And more recently, Menahem Begin, as head of Irgun, bombed the King David Hotel while it was full of old people, women and children. So, holocaust is old and it is new.

As for anti-Semitism, if Koestler (Thirteenth Tribe) is right, and there is a plethora of evidence, then the bulk of European and American Jews are not the Semitic seed of Abraham at all but are the descendants of the Turkic people of Central Asian Kahazar. The term anti-Semitic then loses any literal meaning.

Finally, don't be too put out that Kahn implied that you are a gentile. They're not all that bad, really.

—Ted Means

New Orleans

Editor's note: I know, some of my best friends are gentiles.

BLUEPRINTS

THERE MAY BE LOTS WRONG WITH Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, but I hardly think her move to the Cabrini-Green housing project is part of it. David Moberg's article (ITT, April 22) seemed a petulant complaint that Byrne had accomplished what the left so often fails to accomplish: to take bold actions that capture the popular imagination.

The headline was "Jane Byrne Plays to the Crowd." Much of the opening paragraphs dealt with Mayor Byrne's supposed personality problems. All of this reminded me of the typical left treatment of Cleveland's former mayor, Dennis Kucinich. He, like Byrne,

was capable of taking imaginative and striking action. Rather than learn from this, the left seemed jealous of his ability to reach the people.

Rather than carp at Byrne's action, it would be appropriate to applaud and learn from it. The left has lots of programs, and lots of blueprints for the reconstruction of society, but lacks the ability to "play to the crowd." The problem is that the left too often distrusts the crowd, and especially distrusts white working people, for whom Mayor Byrne apparently has an appeal. It seems that it drove you really wild that she did something that appealed to both black and white people.

—Bruce C. Allen

Democrats for Change
Cleveland, Ohio

David Moberg replies: The problem is not Byrne's boldness, but the substance of her actions and her administration's incoherence. The Cabrini-Green move was a mixed bag, as I indicated, like so much of what she does. But it was one of her better efforts. True, blueprints are not enough, but neither is a flair for publicity—especially when there are no blueprints.

BLACK CAUCUS

I APPRECIATE THE ARTICLE ON THE Congressional Black Caucus by John Judis (ITT, April 22). I feel akin to the views expressed by this group and lament those Democrats who have "caved in."

In my opinion, this core of people represents the stock of leadership in the wake of the party's dissolution last November and the current rush to the right.

In These Times should take it up to regularly voice this front so as to push it towards the recognition and support it deserves.

—Stan White

San Francisco

A GOOD RECIPE

I AM MOST SATISFIED WITH YOUR weekly paper. Nowadays, for recipes, assorted gibberish and the funnies, I read my daily newspaper. For truth, accurate reporting and in-depth analysis, I read *In These Times*.

—Greg Bacon

Clark, Mo.

WHITE COLLAR HOOD

ROBIN HOOD WAS RIGHT! AND SO WAS Eric J. Hobsbawm (ITT, April 22).

"Robin Hood...still means something in today's world..." says Hobsbawm. The fact that these closing words of his are true, at least for myself, are worth repeating.

Upon my realizations that time is theft in a 'time-means-money' capitalist society and that I (as one merry man) was borrowing (read stealing) time not to mention materials, copying costs, postage, etc., (as a housing activist working on the payroll of a private-for-profit management corporation), I turned directly to *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood* in answer to questions of mine concerning the banditry of another merry man.

Of course, it was only my exaggerated understanding of what I was doing that led me to Robin Hood. My trivial experience is noteworthy today as other champions of economic and social justice may be finding themselves working for private corporations, while still making their contribution to social change causes.

Thank you *In These Times*. Thank you Mr. Hobsbawm. And thank you Robin Hoods.

—Jonathan Goldhill

San Francisco

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters less than 250 words long. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

IN THESE TIMES

In These Times definitely fills a need, an important one, and does so successfully. I've found the foreign commentary and coverage particularly impressive and valuable.

Noam Chomsky



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STN1

PERSPECTIVES

Only a British exit can stop the IRA

By Thomas J. Rice

AFTER A 66-DAY HUNGER strike in Long Kesh prison, Belfast, Bobby Sands died Tuesday, May 5. He was serving a 14-year term for possession of firearms and had declared himself a member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army—the IRA. Ironically, he had recently been elected to the British Parliament as a Northern Irish M.P. He was twenty-seven years old. For Sands, “the troubles,” which have been the hallmark of Irish history under British colonial rule for 750 years, are over. But for others, his death raises the spectre of civil war as the IRA intensifies its fight against British imperialism.

The British-dominated wire services are having considerable success in distorting the events leading to Sands’ death and in keeping public focus off the larger historical context of the latest Irish martyr.

It seems reasonable, though, to raise some questions as to why the media has seen fit to omit so many elements of the situation. Why have we heard nothing of the special court system (ITT, May 20)? Why have we heard nothing of the “orange” paramilitary terrorist groups? Why have we not heard of the nature of the H-Block prison in which Sands died?

Roots of the Conflict.

British domination of Ireland dates back to the early 17th century and the “Ulster Plantations.” This refers to the arbitrary eviction of Irish peasants and their replacement by Scottish Protestant settlers, who enjoyed a sharecropping arrangement comparable to the post-slavery American South. Cromwell followed in 1649 with a tour of devastation unparalleled in its inhumanity. The Penal Laws of the early 18th century struck the fatal blow to the sophisticated Gaelic culture in depriving the Irish of the right to their religion, language, literacy and property ownership. In 1845, a deliberate starvation, popularly known as the Irish Famine, reduced the already wretched eight million to two in a period of eighteen months. This genocidal effort quelled all major attempts at rebellion until 1916.

Easter Sunday of 1916 marks the beginning of the end of British domination of Ireland. Though led by a group of inexperienced intellectuals, their failure and execution had the effect of rousing the down-trodden Irish to an effort that was not spent until Home Rule was granted in 1920. A controversial treaty over the remaining British claim to the northern six counties—Ulster—plunged the country into civil war.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood, which had led the liberation movement against the British, insisted on “32 counties or nothing.” DeValera, leader of the new Republican government, argued for compromise. He won, driving the IRB struggle to free Ireland of British presence underground. The current conflict in Northern Ireland emerged, and Bobby Sands’ hunger strike should be understood, in this context.

Diplock Courts.

One of the most erroneous images being presented is that Sands and fellow IRA members are a pathological fringe with a thirst for violence against law-abiding citizens of Northern Ireland. “A crime, is a crime, is a crime,” asserts Prime Minister Thatcher. “And we must have law and order.” Missing from this rendition is any mention of the notorious “Diplock

Courts”—distinguished by the absence of juries or other basics of due process. These courts were designed specifically to handle suspected IRA members.

The supporting legislation for this system of “justice” derives from the Special Powers Act of 1922, which helps more than anything yet reported to explain the continuing conflict. This Act was implemented as an emergency measure during the 1921-22 “troubles”—a euphemism for the Irish Civil War over partition into North and South. It empowers the Home Minister to delegate complete police powers “as he sees fit”

“Free Derry” area in which locals barricaded themselves to defend their neighborhoods and hold off all government intrusion with rocks, firebombs and anything else that could be thrown. Another favorite pastime of the RUC and the soldiers is “frisking” the young women—an undignified body search—and arresting them for any resistance. I spoke with several young people in both Derry and Belfast and they did not know one family who had not at least one member in prison at one time or another for some “offense against the regulations.” Surely it is stretching credibility to insist that all Catholic families are criminal while all the Protestants are not.

Missing from the press accounts, too, is any mention of the systematic intimidation by the soldiers and police of non-violent organizations such as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and the Association for Legal Justice. A peaceful demonstration by the former was fired on by government troops on Jan. 30, 1972, killing eleven 17-year-olds at point-blank range. It became known as “Bloody Sunday.” Only last week another peaceful march was charged by an army Land Rover that killed two youths and critically injured five. The police treated it as a routine traffic

blanket” until political status was restored. This began a battle of wills between the prisoners and the guards at Long Kesh. Harassment began in earnest in an effort to break the resistance. Guards began urinating and defecating in the prisoners’ food. When prisoners rang the signal bell to go to the toilet, the trip was turned into a naked running of the gauntlet of clubbing, kicking and abusive guards.

The response was for the prisoners to throw their slop out of the prison window. The guards retaliated by boarding up the windows, forcing the prisoners again to walk the gauntlet, still naked and now carrying their slop buckets. The response of the prisoners was to begin “dirty action”—smearing excrement on the cell walls so as to keep it off their bedding and floor. This time the guards began adding ground-up glass to the food as additional “seasoning”—compliments of the Protestant prisoners who’d been given the responsibility of preparing meals for the Blanket protesters. To suggest that this treatment was “self-imposed” is greatly to distort the situation. At least two independent agencies—Amnesty International and the British Commission of the National Council of Civil Liberties—attest to the inhumanity of the pris-



A Belfast Catholic suspect being searched by British troops.

The present troubles started in 1922 with the Special Powers act.

and it suspends the legal civil rights of all citizens of Northern Ireland. Part of it is worth quoting for its downright draconian quality: “If any person does any act of such a nature as to be calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland, and not specifically provided for in the regulations, he shall be deemed guilty of an offense against the regulations” (Section 2 (4)).

The Diplock Court system was not the only oppressive measure taken. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was also established as an armed police force independent of local authority or any accountability other than the Home Minister. A commando group known as B-Specials were also established as a kind of KGB/Kamakazi; they have full powers of search and seizure without any warrant or justification. The same is true of all police units, as well as the occupying “peace keeping” soldiers, now standing at 11,000. A favorite pastime of the B-Specials, the RUC and the soldiers is the invasions of the Catholic districts—all of them ghettos of the worst kind—to kill and terrorize the residents. The response has been the “Free Belfast” districts and

accident. Another missing feature of the situation is the terrorism of “orange” paramilitary organizations, such as the Ulster Volunteer Force. This group specializes in the torture of relatives of suspected IRA members, acts seldom investigated by the police.

H-Block.

The immediate prison—known as H-Block after its shape—is the most misunderstood in the media accounts. In 1973, the British government admitted that they had a large group of prisoners who were being held for “political activities” and should be accorded “special category status” from that of “common criminals.” This was done to appease international opinion—especially American, given Carter’s moral emphasis—in the face of what was clearly a violation of human rights. Under this proviso, the political prisoners had the right to wear their own clothes, to not perform prison labor, to receive packages and have regular visitors. But this resulted in the increased organization and determination of the political prisoners. The British government recognized this as a tactical error and abruptly “criminalized” the previously political prisoners on March 1, 1976.

Six months later, on Sept. 14, 1976, after prolonged and futile appeals to the authorities, the “Blanket Protest” began. The prisoners simply refused to wear the prison uniform, wrapping themselves instead in the woolen blankets from their bunks. They vowed not to “bend the knee to the Brits” and to stay “on the

owners’ treatment and documented beatings, torture and “systematic violation of human rights.” No response or justification has been issued to these charges.

Support for IRA

One final point. It is erroneous to accept the image that the IRA is a small lunatic fringe without support of either the Irish Republic or the Catholic population of the North. In 1979, the Economic and Social Research Institute—an independent research organization in Dublin—completed a survey showing that 42 percent of the Republic agreed with IRA motives and only 34 percent rejected them. Fifty-six percent felt that the IRA should be pardoned for their activities if a settlement is reached. And only 13 percent favored a continued partition of Ireland. Asked about the British presence in Ireland, 78 percent wanted the British to withdraw.

After centuries of British imperialism in Ireland, a solution to the conflict can only come about with the exit of the occupational forces, the police state and the Diplock courts. The continued presence of a hated oppressor is unlikely to inspire conciliation. Far from being a force for peace, the British presence is the major single cause of the continued violence—on both sides. Prime Minister Thatcher, in “standing her ground” against the dying Sands asserted, “A crime, is a crime, is a crime.” The IRA might well have replied: “Imperialism, is imperialism, is imperialism.”

Thomas J. Rice is author of *Social Mobility in Urban America*.

STEVE MAX

How to make billions for arms look smaller

I KNOW A GUY, A DECENT SORT but a bit dim. Like many of us, he had to put himself on a strict budget to make ends meet. It was all carefully worked out and everything was going fine, until one day when his sister showed up and asked him to hold her vacation money until she needed it. The last time I saw him he was in a state of deep depression.

"How's the budget?" I asked. "Lousy," he replied. "All the time I was holding my sister's money I was ahead of my budget. Then she took the money back and now I'm barely breaking even again."

"Look," I said, "that money of your sister's was in your hands just for safekeeping. If you hadn't added it to your budget when you got it, then you wouldn't have had to subtract it when she took it back. You weren't really any better off last week when you had the money, and you're really no worse off this week without it." He brightened noticeably and thanked me.

On my way home I fell into a profound philosophical mood. "There must have been a lesson in all of that," I said to myself, "otherwise it wouldn't have happened." Within minutes, the mood evaporated and I thought no more about the matter until the debate over the Reagan budget began. Then the lesson became clear.

Every President since Franklin D. Roosevelt has been doing the same thing my friend did. All have included in the federal budget billions of dollars that are in their hands only for safekeeping, and that really belong to someone else. These are the various trust funds, the largest of



which, of course, is Social Security. The funds also include such accounts as the Federal Employees Retirement Fund and the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Some of the relatively smaller funds like the Highway Trust Fund come from special taxes designated for specific purposes. The greatest portion of the trust funds is pension and insurance money from payroll deductions, and should really be considered as wages.

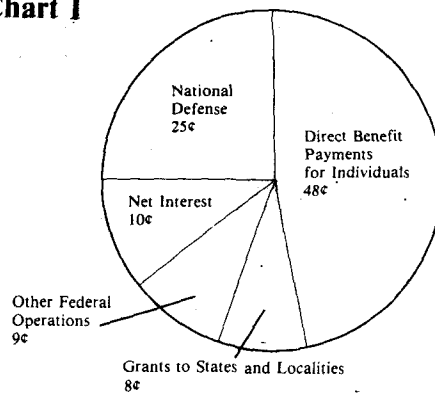
The federal trust funds all have one thing in common. While Congress can regulate the rate at which they are paid out, the money can only be used for the purpose for which it was collected. The Office of Budget and Management spells it out quite clearly, "Trust funds are not available for general purposes of government." The principle seems clear. If it's not your money and you can't spend it, then it doesn't belong in your budget.

Yet the trust funds are included in the federal budget, where they serve two functions: They exaggerate the portion of the federal budget going for social services, and they conceal the portion going for war.

Intrigued by the subject, I picked up a copy of the *Budget In Brief* for 1982. The estimates happen to have been prepared

by Carter's staff not Reagan's, but no matter, any recent budget would illustrate the point in much the same way. The OMB was good enough to include a neat chart on how each federal dollar is spent. I clipped it out. Here it is.

Chart I



Reproduced from *The U.S. Budget in Brief*, F.Y. 1982, Office of Management and Budget

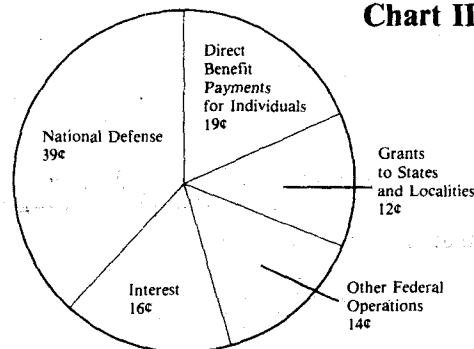
This looks like the budget of a generous and humane government that devotes nearly half of its resources to Benefit Payments to Individuals. Defense is sensibly limited to a quarter of the total, and there is ample sharing with the states.

But this is misleading, the result of a phony bookkeeping system that mixes untouchable trust funds with general outlays, to create a body of misinformation that lays the groundwork for Reagan's budget cutting backlash.

The fact is that the Payments to Individuals section isn't where the fat is. It's where the trust funds are, more than \$200 billion out of an estimated \$700 billion.

To show the impact the inclusion of trust fund money has on the overall appearance of things, I subtracted the trust funds and made a new chart. Now it shows how the money over which Congress actually has discretion will be spent.

Chart II



This is a different picture. Once \$161 billion in payments from the Social Security Trust Fund are taken out, and the rest of the trust fund money is taken out, the Benefit Payments to Individuals that actually come from general tax revenues are much smaller than one would have thought looking at the first chart. It now becomes clear that the biggest true budget item is defense.

That's not all.

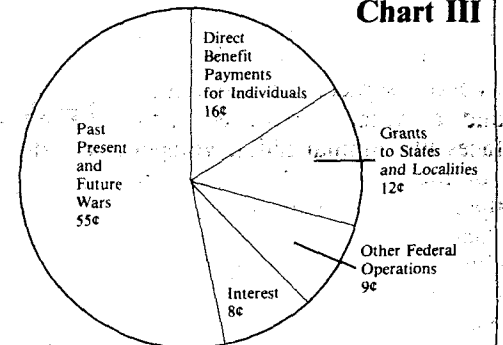
And defense as a budget category obscures more than it reveals. There are many war related expenditures that the government doesn't include in defense. In these charts they are included in Other Federal Operations. The point has often been made that to understand the full impact of war spending on the federal budget and on the economy a different

budget category is needed. We can call it the annual cost of past, present and future wars. To estimate its size I started shifting budget items around, but I warn the reader that this is an exercise in creative interpretation, not scientific budget analysis. Furthermore, it's highly ideological. For three bucks the Government Printing Office will send you a copy of the *Budget In Brief* and you can try it yourself.

I started estimating the cost of past, present and future wars with the original defense outlay. To that I added the cost of the entire space program, which I believe is really for star wars. Some people differ and say that perhaps a third of it is really for peaceful scientific pursuits. I then added the veterans' programs and shifted veterans' income out of what is left of Direct Benefit Payments. This is clearly a cost of past wars. Next I added half the cost of interest on the national debt. This I admit is partly speculation as the government borrows to finance a general deficit and not for specific projects. It could be argued that unnecessary military spending and unnecessary wars are the cause of the national debt so all of the costs of interest should be charged to war. On the other hand it might be said that other government expenses caused the debt and that none of it should be included. I split the difference. My last item was two-thirds of the money spent on the conduct of international affairs. This is mostly foreign aid and military aid, which generally goes to tyrants who will some day require us to defend them against their own people. Here my estimate is probably low.

I now redraw the chart with trust funds excluded, defense expanded to past, present and future wars and everything else adjusted accordingly. With this method, war comes to \$261.7 billion a year or 55 percent of the federal budget minus trust funds.

Chart III



For the sake of consistency with the first chart, this is how the budget would look if Carter were still President. Reagan will add another \$5 billion to defense spending and proposes a total budget that is about \$55 billion less than the Carter administration's estimate used here. If the Reagan plan is accepted by Congress without major changes, the past, present and future wars will come to an astounding 61 percent of the federal budget minus trust funds, or 38 percent of the budget as it is conventionally presented with trust funds included.

Steve Max is on the staff of the Midwest Academy and is co-chair of the West Side Citizen Action, a chapter of the Citizens Alliance in New York.

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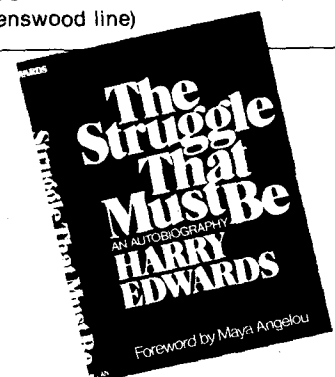
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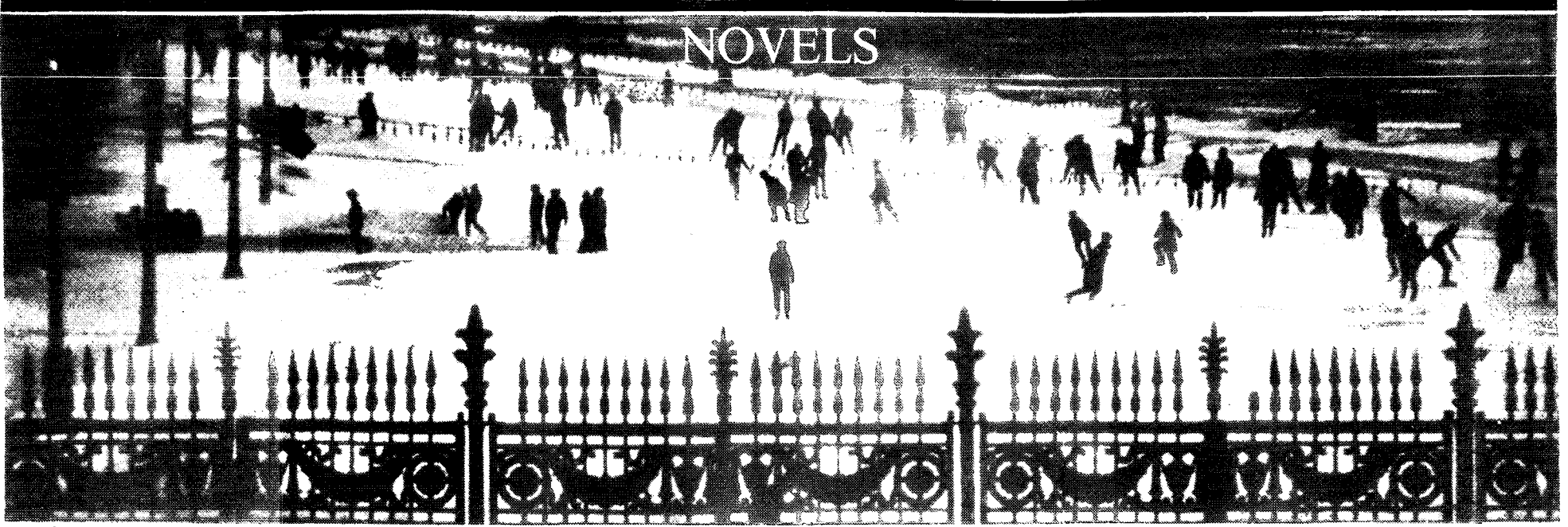
Harry Edwards is currently a professor of sociology at University of California, Berkeley. He played a crucial role in organizing the revolt of Black athletes at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City.



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ON PRINT

NOVELS



The Gorky Park murderer, like the KGB, wants to erase his victims.

The Moscow detective finds truth in murder

Gorky Park

By Martin Cruz Smith
Random House, \$13.95

By Laurie Stone

The usual Moscow murder is reckless and transparent. There's despair and vodka, then rage and an ax, and, finally, incriminating fingerprints on bloody walls. But in the killings in Gorky Park, someone shot two men and a woman, removed their faces like animal hides, gouged out their eyes and snipped off their fingertips with long, sharp shears. Staring at these masks, chief police investigator Arkady Renko beholds the most dangerous and profound mystery of his life.

Until that moment, it has been a rather ordinary life, hushed and thwarted. There is no love

left in his marriage to Zoya, a gymnast whose body is as firm as her Party loyalty. Arkady functions in a world where reality is constantly shaped to fit theory—where hookers aren't arrested for prostitution, because officially it doesn't exist, and dissidents are "rehabilitated" in labor camps, because just grievances are impossible in an equitable state.

Freaks.

To the chief investigator, the special horror in Gorky Park is the killer's wish to erase his victims, so like the KGB's approach to inconvenient facts and the incalculable quirks of human nature. Before anything else, Arkady wishes to restore individuality to the carcasses, so he goes to Andreev, a dwarf who sculpts muscle from plasticine. Andreev

can recover the true face from any skull. "Trust the freak's eyes," he tells Arkady.

In his own way, Arkady is a freak too. In an environment of routine corruption and cynicism, tall, thin Arkady Renko is an anomaly—an honest man who cannot be bought. There's nothing he much wants except the truth. Arkady has an imagination for the unimaginable, for the full range of reality: the forbidden, unspeakable and perverse.

With extraordinary patience and daring, Arkady constructs the true face of the crime from its skeleton, and it is thoroughly absorbing. I wouldn't dream of revealing the plot, but it's safe to say that Arkady, the hunter, is himself hunted, that the chase ultimately leads to a New York City as perilously wired as Mos-

cow with deceit and self-interest and that the mystery expands to embrace the highest branches of Soviet and American government.

Gorky Park is a literate thriller. Arkady is so at home in his city that Martin Cruz Smith's Moscow feels true, like Dickens' London and Melville's New York. Character unfolds with the same gripping authenticity as the police investigation—shades of Conrad and Dostoevski—and public and private barbarisms are artfully bound. "Don't you think a superior man will personally, for real satisfaction, need to see an investigator like me reduced to impotence and futility, even to admiration?" Arkady asks his suspect.

However, political and psychological nuances are always in the service of the intrigue story. Arkady's glare is as relentless and pitiless as the galloping plot. Even while dying of cancer, Arkady's father is still the putrid Stalinist, the famous General Renko who took German ears as trophies. John Osborne, the privileged American who socializes with the Kremlin elite, is a Miltonic evocation, the demon

Mammon made mortal: "If money could grow bones and flesh...it would wear the same cashmere suit; it would part its silver hair the same way; it would have the same lean mask with its expression of superior amusement."

To the Americans, Russia is a far country of innocents ripe for messiahs. To Russians, America is a freedom fantasy, an open plain. But to the wise Russian cop, countries are no better than the souls that inhabit them. And when, on his first day in New York, an FBI agent tells Arkady there's no way he can defect—he isn't officially in America—all traces of illusion crumble to dust.

Gorky Park is a parable about knowledge, not crime. It proposes that life is a series of horrendous revelations, each more terrible than the preceding one. It proposes that everyone barter pieces of humanity to stay alive and that survival means always growing sadder. When one arrives, reluctantly, at the conclusion, there's something bitter and potent in the final swallow.

Laurie Stone writes for the *Village Voice*.

Beyond the death instinct, with pleasure

The White Hotel

By D.M. Thomas
Viking, 274 pp., \$12.95

By Pat Aufderheide

Lisa Erdman, the protagonist of this novel, revives the immediacy of two 20th century phenomena that usually make sentimental or abstract clichés of characters—psychoanalysis and the Holocaust. Her story makes it flesh-and-blood real that these processes happened and happen to people, not statistics, victims or patients. And the manner of its telling is a clue to why that common-sense knowledge usually seems so hard to come by.

In the first of a series of documents comprising what could be God's own file on Lisa Erdman, the Russian emigre opera singer living in Vienna writes down a fantasy for her doctor Sigmund Freud. It is wild, randy poetry, which is then elaborated (luckily for those of us who cannot bear to start a novel with a stretch of poetry) in vivid and audacious prose. The fantasy has fearsome and fey aspects, and also some of the arbitrary and irritating qualities of someone else's dream retold the next morning.

It is then detective-story fasci-

nating to read the doctor's case history resolving her hysteria. This is Freud in 1920, having postulated a death instinct "beyond the pleasure principle," a force toward entropy, toward a return to a more primitive state. In her compulsion to repeat certain painful behavior, and in the high contrast between sexual passion and morbidity in her fantasy, he finds hints that his speculation about a death instinct may be right. This Freud possesses the same combination of acerbic scientific frankness, poetic intuition and grounding in classical literature that Freud's case studies have.

The secrets of Lisa's mother's affair, of her mother's death and of Lisa's own repressed sexuality are unveiled. It would seem that she is cured "of everything but life"—this Freud, like the historical one, cautions his patients that he offers them ordinary unhappiness in place of hysteria. She has lingering symptoms and occasional moments of second sight continue but goes on to become a successful singer. Eventually she marries the widower of a friend and returns to Russia.

A bleak new section opens in a slum and closes in a trench.

Lisa's husband has disappeared during the cruelties of World War II, and she and their son are murdered by the Nazis with many thousands of others at Babi Yar.

"Though most of them had never lived outside the Podol

denly part of the same story.

Lisa has written to Freud, "What torments me is whether life is good or evil." She takes that question all the way to "the camps" beyond the grave, where everything that had gone before seems nightmarish—appropri-

Hysteria and the Holocaust are part of the same story.

slum," writes Thomas, "their lives and histories were as rich and complex as Lisa Erdman-Berenstein's. If a Sigmund Freud had been listening and taking notes from the time of Adam, he would still not fully have explored even a single group, even a single person." The limits on what can be known go further. Lisa's murder has a witness who survived to tell about it, but "It had happened 30,000 times, always in the same way and always differently. Nor can the living ever speak for the dead."

The manner of her murder, however, illuminates obscure passages in her early fantasies and dramatically explains the specific symptoms she suffered as an hysteric. The violence of the soul and of the body are sud-

denly, for a book in which we keep discovering the fantastic and partial quality of understanding revealed in the section before it. Here people finally answer the questions never asked them while alive—although they answer them no more completely than they would have then. Lisa's mother offers highly-qualified hope: "I think wherever there is love, of any kind, there is hope of salvation." Brusquely calling for her help with the flood of new arrivals, a medical organizer puts Lisa's perennial question to rest: "Were we made to be happy? You're an incurable optimist, old girl!"

The pulls of love and pleasure against hate, corruption and death go on inside and outside

Lisa Erdman with a monstrous modern violence. The first part of the book transmits a healthy respect for the power of the psyche both to destroy and to protect; it also shows the good doctor in the dark most of the time. When the Nazis murder with casual cruelty this person we've come to know so intimately, it provokes a shock of loss, of affront—and of thought. Would the death instinct even have been postulated if this were not an era in which self-destruction has been turned into a wholesale phenomenon? To then discover that Lisa goes on beyond her death is to get a little bit of the author's strength of spirit, his unsentimental hope.

This is an unavoidably modern novel, an amalgam of poetry, dream, "faction" document. But the experimentation with form is never trendy. It is appropriate to our groping, tentative understanding of subterranean forces that, in spite of a horde of social scientists and of political prescriptions, we still understand poorly.

The book has added benefits. The imitation of Freud sends you back to Freud's own writings, always a literary as well as philosophical pleasure. It is, moreover, a book whose form as well as whose quality of prose makes it a joy to reread, and an entirely different experience from the first read through. ■

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

DOCUMENTARIES

Yes, the artist was a woman

By Alison Hilton

Ten years ago art historian Linda Nochlin asked, "Why have there been no great women artists?" The question did not deny the artistic capabilities of women, but commented on traditional (white, male, middle or upper class) perceptions of women and their proper roles. It aroused artists and art historians and helped spur the discovery of many deserving women artists. Today there is no excuse for using this rhetorical

because they communicate the excitement and the frustrations of the exploratory work.

Harris points out the differences between the "popular view of feminism" as "concerned with social issues" and the traditional view of the art historian's job. She says the exhibit gave her the chance to prove, by the traditional rules of art history, that a great number of women are outstanding artists. "Everyone was surprised at the strength of the show," Harris adds.

Harris and Nochlin confronted the complex and intimidating

point out that "art is very much alien to the mind of woman," and to exclude them from membership in academies, honors and other rewards. These judgments are set against a solidly researched narration about the careers and personal experiences of women artists from the Renaissance to the present. Excerpts from diaries and letters—candid, introspective, despairing, sometimes remarkably self-assured—provide an impressive and often moving accompaniment to a fine selection of works. Cameras go where curators—hampered by questions of size, fragility, loan and insurance forms—could not. Besides showing some rare, unobtainable works and normally invisible close-up details of major paintings, the film gives excellent views of the towns and cities, homes and studios where the artists worked.

The account begins in 16th-century Florence, when women artists received their first public recognition in the West. Sophonisba Anguissola, a member of an artistic family that included three talented girls, was an international celebrity, hailed for "elevating the status of her profession." Milan and Bologna also boasted famous women artists, like Lavinia Fontana, who was so successful that her husband worked as her assistant, and Elisabetta Sirani, who had her own atelier.

Artemesia Gentileschi, surely the best known woman painter of the early Baroque period seems to have concentrated on images of women, primarily from Old Testament stories, who triumphed over men. The story of her rape (by a young artist employed as her teacher), the public trial at which she had to testify under torture (because her rape was considered a violation of her father's proprietary rights) and her move from Rome to Florence to escape the notoriety and establish her own career, lends melodrama to her early and violent depictions of Judith beheading Holofernes. But what becomes more impressive as one looks at a sequence of Gentileschi's works, is that she learned to treat her difficult subjects with sensitivity rather than rage, and with consummate professionalism.

Harris, who organized the pre-19th century portion of the exhibit, reminds viewers that although a few exceptional women painted historical and biblical subjects, there was little encouragement for most women who wanted to paint. Still life painting became

an important area of accomplishment for women. Louis Moillon, for example, was an accomplished painter by 20 (her still life with figures, "At the Greengrocer," of 1630 is examined in detail). Then she married, had children, stopped painting for 30 years and resumed her career. The works of other still life painters show their capacity for concentration. Harris comments on Rachel Ruysch's "Fruits, Flowers and Insects": "Taken one by one, the elements of the painting are marvels of scientific observation. Taken as a whole the painting is a micro-

This film caps ten years of research work by feminist art historians.

cosm of the cycle of life."

Participation in the mainstream world of art was a major issue in the 19th century, Nochlin tells viewers. The Impressionist movement attracted a number of talented young women. Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt were prepared to dispense with the social advantages of their class. Suzanne Valadon, friend of Renoir, Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec, was the first working-class woman to become a respected painter. A series of her paintings and some extraordinary drawings climax in her

most startling work, "The Blue Room." Close-ups show fine variations of soft color and texture in the flesh and background, which contrast with the assertive and even crude subject.

In the 20th century, Nochlin points out, external barriers to women artists weakened, but inner barriers remained. Well thought-out juxtapositions include the moving primal images of motherhood in Paula Modersohn-Becker's works (done just before her death in childbirth) and Dorothea Tanning's bitter, surrealist "Maternity"; the apparently frivolous but ironic "Cathedrals of Power" by Florine Stettinheimer and the "disturbing" images of Hannah Hoch and Romaine Brooks. Nochlin notes the importance of women in the Russian vanguard. A rare film clip shows Natalia Goncharova in her studio as we hear her ideas about the way colors act upon the mind.

The struggle of the artist to realize a new goal for art or a new vision is summed up in the concluding segments on Kaethe Kollwitz and Georgia O'Keeffe. Kollwitz wanted to use her prints as a tool for social change. She wanted to be direct, like a peasant woman, to express her feelings openly and without disguise. O'Keeffe talks quietly about trying to paint what she herself saw, things that no one else could teach her, of a search into the heart of nature for her own ideas.

The filmmakers employed the talents of women wherever possible. Portraitist Jane Alexander reads the narration and an excellent supporting group read the letters and remarks of the women artists and their contemporaries. All the music, appropriately chosen for the periods represented, was composed by women. This film was recently announced as a finalist in the 1981 American Film Festival. It is encouraging to know that it will receive the recognition it deserves.

Alison Hilton teaches art history at Wayne State University, and is a national officer of the Women's Caucus for Art.



Mary Cassatt (above, her "Young Woman in Black") was one of many talented women attracted to the Impressionist movement.

question as a cover-up for ignorance.

The historical survey film, *The Artist Was a Woman* (shown on some PBS stations May 25), directed by Suzanne Bauman and produced by Bauman and Mary Bell, marks the progress of our understanding. Consultants included filmmaker Perry Miller Adato (producer of *The Originals: Women in Art*); Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, organizers of "Women Artists: 1550-1950," a 1975 exhibit at the Los Angeles County Museum; and Germaine Greer, whose recent book *The Obstacle Race* concerns women artists.

The role of feminist thought in generating the exhibit, books and now this film is emphasized throughout the film. In fact, these segments of interviews with Harris, Nochlin and Greer are among the film's strong points

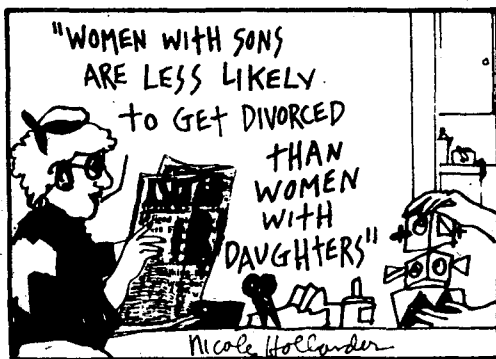
concept of greatness, as did Germaine Greer. Greer tells of her growing unpopularity with curators as she gathered material for her book. Unlike most scholars, she was not content to study one painting for hours, but would demand to see "all the women artists" in the collection. Sometimes, she admits, the works were so awful she wished she had been more moderate.

Men against the facts.

No one who participated in this film felt that women should be excused for bad painting. What is astonishing is how easily the authorities of the art world have got away with denigrating women artists on the basis of their sex. The film's narration is full of quotations from male artists and writers of all periods who, whether mocking or praising women artists, seem obliged to

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

NEW YORK, NY

May 29

David Paskin will discuss the film "Tighten Your Belt, Bite the Bullet: The Fiscal Crisis in New York and Cleveland" at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th Street at 7:30 p.m. Admission is \$3.00.

CHICAGO, IL

May 31

Citizens Party of Illinois State Convention, Chicago State University, 9 a.m.—4 p.m. (registration at 8:30 a.m. or in advance). Discussion of party identity and goals, proposals for action during 1981-1982. Registration \$2.60 on a sliding scale. Call 332-2066 for details.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

June 12-14

Regional conference—the Association for Union Democracy. Victor Reuther, "The Labor Movement Under Reagan." Others: Joseph Yablonski, Ken Paff, TDU; Joseph Samargia, USWA; Clyde Summers. At the Hotel Leamington. Contact AUD, 215 Park Ave. South, NYC 10003, (212) 473-0606.

CHICAGO, IL

June 13

Rally against government spying. Hear Alderman Danny Davis, ACLU Director Jay Miller, Ed Sadlowski, Dr. Quentin Young, a witness from the Socialist Worker Party trial against government spying and others. Greetings from In These Times. At the Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester, at 7:30 p.m. Donation is \$2.00. For more information, call: Political Rights Defense Fund at (312) 939-0737.

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July 2-5

ACTION FOR LIFE—National Training and Mobilization Conference for Vegetarian and Animal Rights Action. Featuring: twenty participating organizations and prominent speakers. Briefing and tactical workshops, task forces, "rap" sessions, exhibits, social functions. Early registration discounts. Contact: Action for Life, Box 5888, WDC 20014, (301) 530-1737.

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July 25-Aug 1

AVON INSTITUTE—a gathering focused on issues of peace and social justice sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. Resource persons include: Berit and George Lakey, Deanna Francis, Chuck Turner, Joanna Macy, Jeanne Gallo, Russell Johnson. Special children's program. Brochure from AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.

REGGAE

Bob Marley's survival

By Bruce Dancis

Bob Marley, who died of cancer two weeks ago at 36, shaped both the sound of reggae and its commitment to racial and economic equality. A prolific songwriter and magnetic performer, through songs like "Small Axe"—"If you are a big tree/We are the small axe/Sharpened to cut you down"—he became the most eloquent spokesperson for his people's struggle against colonialism.

Born in poverty in a rural Jamaican province, Marley quit school early and moved to Kingston's Trench Town. Like many Jamaicans, Marley kept his ears tuned to the music emanating from New Orleans and Miami, and his first recordings, in 1961 and 1962, found him covering American popular tunes such as Brook Benton's "One More Cup of Coffee."

By the mid-'60s Marley got together with Peter Tosh, Bunny Livingston and several other vocalists. As a quintet, and later as a trio, the Wailing Wailers combined the vocal harmonies of American popular music with the lilting rhythms of reggae and the rebellious, style-conscious "Rude Boy" phenomenon. In those days local hits did not translate into economic viability, and Marley ended up moving to Wilmington, Del. with his mother, where he worked the night shift at a Chrysler plant for several months.

Returning to Jamaica in 1967, Marley reconstituted the Wailers. He converted to Rastafarianism and his songs began to carry its distinctive religious and political message. The albums the Wailers (now a complete band with the addition of some of Jamaica's finest musicians) recorded with

Jamaican producer Lee Perry, featuring classic songs such as "Trench Town Rock," "Soul Rebel," "Small Axe," and "400 Years," changed the direction of reggae music.

In 1972 the Wailers signed with Island Records. Given the resources to make high quality recordings and an international audience, Marley and his group quickly began to gain worldwide attention. Their first Island records, *Catch A Fire* and *Burnin'* (the latter featuring the reggae anthem "Get Up Stand Up" and "I Shot the Sheriff," a number one U.S. hit for English rocker Eric Clapton), together with the movie *The Harder They Come*, established reggae as the most influential new form of popular music in the world.

In 1975 Marley and the Wailers released *Natty Dread*, which to me is the finest reggae album ever made and the most formidable



Marley held nothing back in concert.

merging of social protest and musical brilliance since Bob Dylan's recordings a decade earlier. Alternating tunes of sensuous beauty with angry songs raging against poverty, police oppression and the legacy of slavery, Marley, in a phrase—"Them belly full, but we hungry"—or in an image—"Cold ground was my bed last night, and rock was my pillow too"—evoked the social condition of his

IN THESE TIMES MAY 27-JUNE 3, 1981 15
people like few musicians have ever done.

In 1976 Marley was wounded during an assassination attempt in Kingston, shortly before he was to appear at a concert backing the candidacy of Prime Minister Michael Manley. Marley left Jamaica and said that he would no longer be involved in what he called "commercial politics." His exile coincided with a clear deterioration in his music. After two years, Marley returned to Jamaica and his roots. The resulting album, *Survival*, like the 1980 *Uprising*, reaffirmed his commitments. Its theme was the need for black unity in the face of attempts to create divisiveness.

Reggae music is strong enough to survive the death of its leading ambassador. Although the Jamaican originators of reggae still don't get the recognition they deserve, through the efforts of popularizers like Stevie Wonder, Blondie, and the Clash, the sound of reggae has been thoroughly integrated into contemporary popular music. Yet Marley's death leaves an irreplaceable void for all who have been moved and shaken by his music. ■

Bruce Dancis edits Music Industry in San Francisco.

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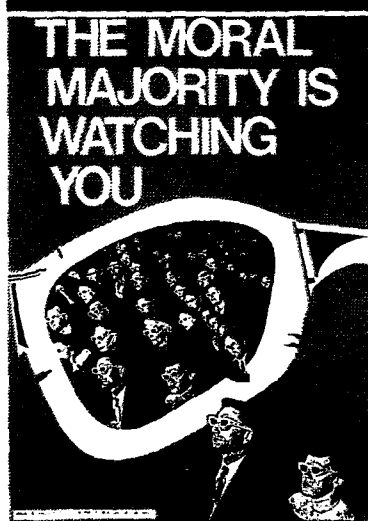
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The price of a day's pay



Jefferson County convicts in bunk house. Conditions in prisons were long deplored by social reformers who were not successful in having the system abolished until the 1930s. Courtesy Thomas D. Parke Collection, Birmingham Public Library Archives. (Right)

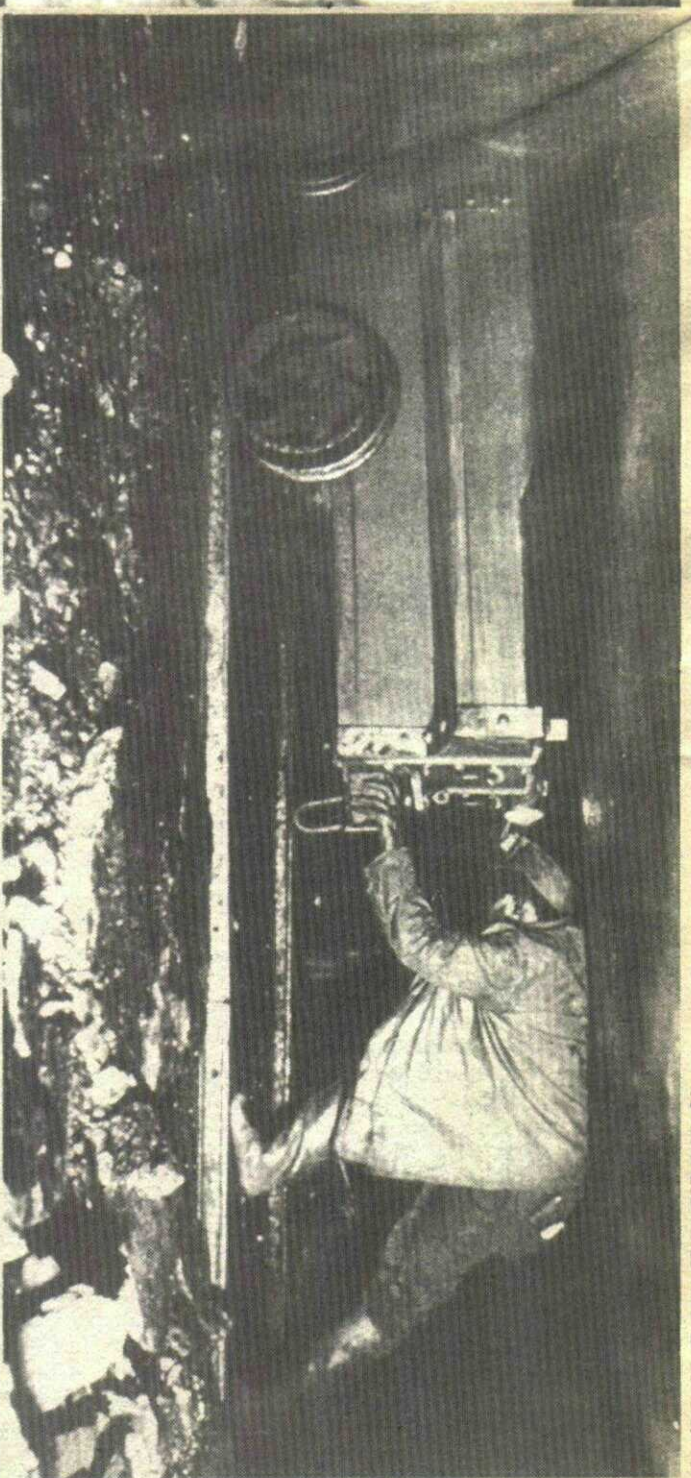


These photos are from an exhibit at the Iron and Steel Museum, Tannehill State Park, Ala., of 94 photographs covering the history of working life in the coal mines, iron furnaces and factories of Birmingham, Ala. The exhibit was prepared by historians Mitch Menzer and Mike Williams from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Menzer and Williams spent six months in the Birmingham area collecting photos from corporations, private collections and archives at state and local museums, libraries and universities. Many of the photos that depict working conditions and life in company-run villages were taken by company photographers.

Birmingham, Ala., was the site of one of the South's earliest and heaviest concentrations of large-scale manufacturing. Founded in 1872, the town beckoned to industrial promoters because of the close proximity of coal, iron ore and limestone—all the raw materials necessary for the production of iron and steel. By 1900, Birmingham was one of the largest producers of pig iron in the U.S.

Despite its natural advantages, Birmingham industrialists found it difficult to compete with iron produced in the North because of the low grade of some Birmingham iron ores, a lack of technological expertise, the weakness of local markets and the cost of shipping their iron to the North where viable markets did exist.

So Birmingham industrialists kept



A Tennessee Coal Iron and Railway Company miner pushes an empty coal car back to his room. The coal seam here is about 30 inches in thickness. Miners would work all day in these cramped conditions. c. 1914. Courtesy U.S. Steel Corp. (Above)

wages low and hours long. As in Northern industries, Birmingham workers in the 1890s put in 12-hour shifts six days a week, with furnace men working a double shift of 24 hours every other Sunday. Birmingham wages, however, were 25 to 40 percent lower than in the North. These wage differentials were not eradicated until long after the advent of organized labor in the Birmingham area in the '30s.

Birmingham industrialists also maintained a tractable work force through a crafty manipulation of the South's traditions of paternalism and racial discrimination. Approximately 60 percent of Birmingham's workforce was black, most of whom came to the city from sharecropping situations in the rural South, looking for better opportunities. Blacks filled the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs, working at the face in coal and iron ore mines, and breaking and loading pigs of iron in the furnaces. Blacks rarely filled skilled positions, and in all cases received less pay than whites for equal work. Blacks and whites were often housed in segregated company towns.

Birmingham industrialists repeatedly used racial issues to divide their workers and to resist attempts at unionization. During strikes by interracial groups of miners in 1894, 1908, 1919 and 1934, coal operators repeatedly aroused public sentiment against the strikers by claiming that the unions were calling for "social equality between blacks and whites." In the '30s when black iron ore miners attempted to organize with the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers,

companies that previously had hired 90 percent black employees suddenly instituted all-white hiring practices.

A third element in Birmingham's labor scene was the widespread use of the convict lease system. Coal mines in the 1890s paid the state \$15 a month plus room and board for the untrained use of convict labor. More than 80 percent of the prisoners were black, many of whom were indigent and illiterate, and had been arrested for vagrancy or other Jim Crow offenses. Sheriffs in the Birmingham area often derived all or part of their salaries from fees which they received for each prisoner arrested. Conditions in the mines were notorious. In 1911, 123 black convicts died in a mine explosion. Of those killed, 30 percent were serving sentences of 20 days or less. During the years the state leased prisoners to the mines, Alabama's convict mortality rate was three to 10 times the national average. The system was not abolished until the '20s. Perhaps part of its tenacity can be explained by the fact that in 1914, 1,200 convicts leased to coal mines provided almost 20 percent of all revenue to the Alabama State Treasury.

For information on the exhibit, write Images of Work, Box 1097, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35403, or call (205)345-8606.